



## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE compiler regrets that his departure from Calcutta obliges him to bring out this work in so incomplete a form,—the part now printed comprising only portions of the first and fourth volumes. On his return to the Presidency, he hopes to bring out the remainder, as fast as his little leisure will permit.

*Umbala, Dec 1818.*

# ERRATA

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Page	Line	
31	5—	6— Kay, read Gay.
74	23—31	} In all these places, for <i>Fahrŭcher</i> read <i>Jahrŭcher</i>
80	23	
82	20	
89	27	
92	32	}
140	6—	
		insert "o" between Deŭmites and Báyides
313	22—	6— Kal, read Gal

# BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

TO THE

HISTORIANS

OF

MUHAMMEDAN INDIA.

BY

SIR HENRY M. ELLIOT, K. C. B.

*Foreign Secretary to the Government of India*

IN FOUR VOLUMES

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VOL I

GENERAL HISTORIES.

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And now stand forth ye giant forms — shades of the earliest chieftains, — ye long rows of famous men, — ye dynasties — ye venerable councillors of kings and warriors on the car of victory, — stand forth and let us survey you; and say — were ye the greatest of mankind? How few of you can claim that title! Or best of men? Still fewer of you have that praise. The originators or inspiring movers of great things done? Rather, the wheels whereon the Invisible Ruler has driven the wonderful machinery of His universal government across the ocean of time.

J. MÜLLER, *Lectures on Universal History*, 111 422

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CALCUTTA

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1850.





*From J THORNTON, Esq.*

*Secretary to Government N. W. P.*

*To H. M ELLIOT, Esq.*

*Secretary and Officiating Member,  
Sudder Board of Revenue.*

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th ultimo, transmitting an “Index to the Native Historians of India,” and to express the great satisfaction with which the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor has received the above compilation.

2.—His Honor desires that the work may be immediately printed under your superintendence. The Government will print 200 copies for their own use ; but you can have as many more copies printed, on your own account, as may be required for circulation in India and England

I have the honor, &c. &c.

(Signed) J THORNTON,  
*Secy. to Govt N. W. P.*

*Lieut -Governor's Camp, }  
Feb 11, 1847. }*



## P R E F A C E.

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A few months since, the Compiler of this Catalogue was engaged in a correspondence with the Principal of the College at Delhi, on the subject of lithographing an uniform edition of the Native Historians of India. On referring the matter to His Honor the Lieutenant Governor N W P, it was replied that the Education Funds at the disposal of the Government were not sufficient to warrant the outlay of so large a sum as the scheme required, and without which it would have been impossible to complete so expensive an undertaking. At the same time it was intimated, that, as few people were acquainted with the particular works which should be selected to form such a series, it would be very desirable that an Index of them should be drawn up, in order that the Manuscripts might be sought for, and deposited in one of our College Libraries, to be printed or lithographed hereafter, should circumstances ren-

der it expedient, and should the public taste, at present lamentably indifferent, show any inclination for greater familiarity with the true sources of the Muhammedan History of India.

The author willingly undertook this task, as it did not appear one of much difficulty; but in endeavouring to accomplish it, the mere Nominal Index which he was invited to compile, has insensibly expanded into several Volumes; for, encouraged not only by finding that no work had ever been written specially on this matter, but also by receiving from many distinguished Orientalists, both European and Native, their confessions of entire ignorance on the subject of his enquiries, he was persuaded that it would be useful to append, as far as his knowledge would permit, a few notes to each History as it came under consideration, illustrative of the matter it comprehends, the style, position, and prejudices of the several authors, and the merits or deficiencies of their execution

Brief extracts from the several works have been given in the fourth Volume, in order to show the style of each author. Some of these have been translated in the three first Volumes: of some, where the text is of no interest, the translation has been omitted:

but in most instances, the English translations exceed the Persian text. As the translation and the printing of the Persian text occurred at different periods, the translation will be found occasionally to vary from the text, having been executed probably from a different Manuscript, and the preferable reading taken for the fourth Volume. The versions are inelegant, as, in order to show the nature of the original, they keep as close to it as possible, and no freedom has been indulged in with the object of improving the style, sentiments, connexion, or metaphors of the several passages which have been quoted

The author has been very particular in noticing every translation known to him, in order that students, into whose hands this Index may fall, may be saved the useless trouble, which he in his ignorance has more than once entailed upon himself—of undertaking a translation which had already been executed by others.

He had hoped to be able to add to this Index an account of the historians of the independent Muhammedan monarchies, such as of Gujrát, Bengál, Cashmír and others, but the work, as it is, has already extended to a length beyond what either its name or the

interest of the subject warrants, and sufficient information is given respecting their annals in many of the General Histories. For the same reason he must forego an intended notice of the various collections of private letters relating to the history of India, and the matters which chiefly interested the generation of the writers.

The historians of the Delhi Emperors have been noticed down to the reign of Sháh A'lam, when new actors appear upon the stage; when a more stirring and eventful period of India's History commences; and when the full light of European truth and discernment begins to shed its beams upon the obscurity of the past, and to relieve us from the necessity of appealing to the Native Chroniclers of the time, who are, for the most part, dull, prejudiced, ignorant, and superficial.

If it be doubted whether it is worth while to trouble ourselves about collecting such works as are here noticed, it is sufficient to reply that other countries have benefited by similar labours—exemplified in the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, the *Auctores Veteres Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, the *Monumenta Boica*, the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, and a hundred other collections of the same

kind—but no objection is urged against them on the ground that each chronicler, taken individually, is not of any conspicuous merit. They are universally considered as useful depositories of knowledge, from which the labour and diligence of succeeding scholars may extract materials for the erection of a better and more solid structure. This country offers some peculiar facilities for such a collection, which it would be vain to look for elsewhere,—since the number of available persons, sufficiently educated for the purpose of transcribing, collating, and indexing, is very large, and they would be content with a small remuneration. Another urgent reason for undertaking such a work in this country, is the incessant depredation which insects, moths, dust, moisture, and vermin are committing upon the small store of Manuscripts which is now extant. Every day is of importance in rescuing the remnant from still further damage, as was too painfully evident a short time ago, from a report presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, respecting the injury which has already been sustained by their collection.

On the other hand, it must not be concealed, that in India, independent of the want of standard books of reference, great difficulties



beset the enquirer in this path of literature. arising chiefly from one of the defects in the national character, viz. : the intense desire for parade and ostentation. which induces authors to quote works they have never seen. and to lay claim to an erudition which the limited extent of their knowledge does not justify. For instance, not many years ago there was published at Agra an useful set of chronological tables of the Moghul dynasty. said to be founded on the authority of several excellent works named by the author. Having been long in search of many of these works, I requested from the author a more particular account of them. He replied, that some had been once in his possession and had been given away : some he had borrowed : and some were lost or mislaid : but the parties to whom he had given, and from whom he had borrowed. denied all knowledge of the works. or even of their titles. Indeed. most of them contained nothing on the subject which they were intended to illustrate, and they were evidently mentioned by the author for the mere object of acquiring credit for the accuracy and extent of his researches.

Again, a native gentleman furnished a catalogue of the manuscripts said to compose the

historical collection of His Highness the Nizam; but on close examination I found that, from beginning to end, it was a complete fabrication, the names of the works being taken from the prefaces of standard histories, in which it is usual to quote the authorities,—the very identical sequence of names, and even the errors of the originals, being implicitly followed

Against these impudent and interested frauds we must consequently be on our guard, not less than against the blunders arising from negligence and ignorance,—the misquoting of titles, dates, and names;—the ascription to wrong authors;—the absence of beginnings and endings;—the arbitrary substitution of new ones to complete a mutilated manuscript,—the mistakes of copyists;—the exercise of ingenuity in their corrections, and of fancy in their additions;—all these, added to the ordinary sources of error attributable to the well known difficulty of deciphering Oriental Manuscripts, present many obstacles sufficient to damp even the ardour of an enthusiast. Besides which, we have to lament the entire absence of literary history and biography, which in India is devoted only to Saints and Poets. Where

fairy tales and fictions are included under the general name of History, we cannot expect to learn much respecting the character, pursuits, motives, and actions of historians, unless they are pleased to reveal them to us themselves, and to entrust us with their familiar confidences ; or unless they happen to have enacted a conspicuous part in the scenes which they describe \* Even in Europe† this deficiency has been complained of ; how much more, therefore, is it likely to be a subject of regret, where despotism is triumphant ; where the active elements of life are few ; and where

\* Neque enim sufficere, ut Codicum inscriptiones legantur, qui sæpe aut falsos aut truncatos titulos præferant, sæpe etiam plane desiderantur, sed præfationes immo totos libros percurrendos esse, ut de singulorum argumento, formâ, ratione pronunties de auctorum rebus in Historiæ literariæ libris inquirendum, aut si horum destituamur auxilio, ex ipsis operibus de scriptorum ætate conjecturam esse faciendam Hunc igitur non aliquot mensium, nec nnins anni laborem, sed talem, in quo rite perficiendo facile majorem ætatis partem consumas, eo usque seponendum esse decrevi, donec doctior omnibusque auxilium paratior ad eum profigandum possem accedere

H A HAMAKER, *Specimen Catalogi*, p. iv.

† I know not by what means it comes to pass, that historians, who give immortality to others, are so ill requited by posterity, that their actions and their fortunes are usually forgotten, neither themselves encouraged while they live, nor their memory preserved entire to future ages It is the ingratitude of mankind to their wisest benefactors, that they who teach us wisdom by the surest ways, should generally live poor and unregarded, as if they were born only for the public, and had no interest in their own well-being, but were to be lighted up like tapers, and to waste themselves for the benefit of others —*Dryden*.

individual character, trammelled by so many restraining influences, has no opportunity of development.

It must be understood, then, that this Index has not been constructed on account of any intrinsic value in the Histories themselves. Indeed, it is almost a misnomer to style them Histories. They can scarcely claim to rank higher than Annals. “Erat enim historia nihil aliud, nisi annalium confectio. \* \* \* \* Hanc similitudinem scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui, sine ullis ornamentis, monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt \* \* \* Non exornatores rerum, sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt” (*De Orat.* II. 12). They comprise, for the most part, nothing but a mere narration of events, conducted with reference to chronological sequence, without speculation on causes or effects; without a reflection or suggestion which is not of the most puerile and contemptible kind; and without any observations calculated to interrupt the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders, and fratricides, so common in Asiatic Monarchies, and to which India unhappily forms no exception. If we are somewhat relieved from the contemplation of such scenes

when we come to the accounts of the earlier Moghul Emperors, we have what is little more inviting in the records of the stately magnificence and ceremonious observances of the Court, and the titles, jewels, swords, drums, standards, elephants, and horses bestowed upon the dignitaries of the Empire.

If the artificial definition of Dionysius be correct, that "History is Philosophy teaching by examples." then there is no Native Indian Historian; and few have even approached to so high a standard. Of examples, and very bad ones, we have ample store: though even in them the radical truth is obscured by the hereditary, official, and sectarian prepossessions of the narrator:—but of philosophy, which deduces conclusions calculated to benefit us by the lessons and experience of the past, and offers sage counsel for the future, we search in vain for any sign or symptom. Of domestic history also we have in our Indian Annalists absolutely nothing, and the same may be remarked of nearly all Muhammedan historians, except Ibn Khaldún. By them Society is never contemplated either in its constituent elements or mutual relations: in its established classes or popular institutions: in its private recesses or habitual

intercourses. A fact, an anecdote, a speech, a remark, which would illustrate the condition of the common people, or of any rank subordinate to the highest, is considered too insignificant to be suffered to intrude upon a relation which concerns only Grandees and Ministers, "Thrones and Imperial Powers."

Hence it is that these works may be said to be deficient in some of the most essential requisites of History,—for "its great object," says Dr. Arnold, "is that which most nearly touches the inner life of civilized man, namely, the vicissitudes of institutions, social, political, and religious. This is the *τελειότατον τέλος* of historical enquiry" (*Lectures on Mod Hist* p 123) In Indian Histories there is little which enables us to penetrate below the glittering surface, and observe the practical operation of a despotic Government and rigorous and sanguinary laws, or the effect upon the great body of the nation of these injurious influences and agencies.

If, however, we turn our eyes to the present Muhammedan kingdoms of India, and examine the character of the princes, and the condition of the people subject to their sway, we may fairly draw a parallel between ancient and modern times, under circumstances

and relations nearly similar. We behold Kings, even of our own creation, sunk in sloth and debauchery, and emulating the vices of a Caligula or a Commodus. Under such rulers, we cannot wonder that the fountains of justice are corrupted; that the state-revenues are never collected without violence and outrage; that villages are burnt, and their inhabitants mutilated or sold into slavery; that the officials, so far from affording protection, are themselves the chief robbers and usurpers; that parasites and eunuchs revel in the spoil of plundered provinces; and that the poor find no redress against the oppressor's wrong and proud man's contumely. When we witness these scenes under our own eyes, where the supremacy of the British Government, the benefit of its example, and the dread of its interference might be expected to operate as a check upon the progress of misrule, can we be surprised that former princes, when free from such restraints, should have studied even less to preserve the people committed to their charge in wealth, peace, and prosperity? Had the authors, whom we are compelled to consult, portrayed their Cæsars with the fidelity of Suetonius, instead of the more congenial syco-

phancy of Paterculus, we should not, as now, have to extort from unwilling witnesses testimony to the truth of these assertions. From them, nevertheless, we can gather, that the common people must have been plunged into the lowest depth of wretchedness and despondency. The few glimpses we have—even among the short Extracts in this single Volume—of Hindús slain for disputing with Muhammedans,<sup>1</sup> of general prohibitions against processions, worship, and ablutions, and of other intolerant measures,<sup>2</sup> of idols mutilated,<sup>3</sup> of temples razed,<sup>4</sup> of forcible conversions and marriages,<sup>5</sup> of proscriptions and confiscations,<sup>6</sup> of murders and massacres,<sup>7</sup> and of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants who enjoined them,<sup>8</sup> show us that this picture is not overcharged ;—and it is much to be regretted that we are left to draw it for ourselves from out the mass of ordinary occurrences, recorded by writers who seem to sympathize with no virtues, and to abhor no

1 See pp 254, 291, 336

2 See pp 197, 235, 241, 243, 245, 247, 249, 251, 257, 292.

3 See pp 236, 286, 333, 344

4 See pp 228, 229, 292

5 See pp 196, 287, 335

6 See pp 289, 330, 332, 333

7 See pp 127, 158, 160, 286, 289, 333, 334, 335

8 See pp 112, 284, 285, 288, 290, 381, 390



vices. Whenever, therefore, in the course of this Index a work is characterized as excellent, admirable, or valuable, it must be remembered that these terms are used relatively to the narrative only; and it is but reasonable to expect that the force of these epithets will be qualified by constant advertence to the deficiencies just commented on.

These deficiencies are more to be lamented, where, as sometimes happens, a Hindú is the author. From one of that nation we might have expected to learn what were the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears, and yearnings of his subject race;—but unfortunately he rarely writes unless according to order or dictation, and every phrase is studiously and servilely turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Muhammedan patron. There is nothing to betray his religion or his nation, except perhaps a certain stiffness and affectation of style, which show how ill the foreign garb befits him. With him, a Hindú is “an infidel,” and a Muhammedan “one of the true faith,” and of the holy Saints of the Calendar he writes with all the fervor of a bigot. With him, when Hindús are killed, “their souls are despatched to hell,” and when a Muhammedan suffers the same fate, “he drinks the cup of martyrdom.” He

is so far wedded to the set phrases and inflated language of his conquerors, that he speaks “of the light of Islám shedding its refulgence on the world,” “of the blessed Muharram,” and “of the illustrious Book” He usually opens with a “Bismillah,” and the ordinary profession of faith in the unity of the Godhead, followed by laudations of the holy prophet, his disciples and descendants, and indulges in all the most devout and orthodox attestations of Muhammedans. One of the Hindú authors here noticed, speaks of standing in his old age “at the head of his bier and on the brink of his grave,” though he must have been fully aware that, before long, his remains would be burnt, and his ashes cast into the Ganges Even at a later period, when no longer “*Tiberi ac Neronis res ob metum falsæ*,”\* there is not one of this slavish crew who treats the history of his native country subjectively, or presents us with the thoughts, emotions, and raptures which a long oppressed race might be supposed to give vent to, when freed from the tyranny of its former masters, and allowed to express itself in the natural language of the heart, without constraint and without adulation.

\* Tacitus, *Annal.* I 1.

But, though the intrinsic value of these works may be small, they will still yield much that is worth observation to any one who will attentively examine them. They will serve to dispel the mists of ignorance by which the knowledge of India is too much obscured, and show that the history of the Muhammedan period remains yet to be written. They will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule. If instruction were sought for from them, we should be spared the rash declarations respecting Muhammedan India, which are frequently made by persons not otherwise ignorant. Characters now renowned only for the splendor of their achievements and a succession of victories, would, when we withdraw the veil of flattery and divest them of rhetorical flourishes, be set forth in a truer light, and probably be held up to the execration of mankind. We should no longer hear bombastic Baboos, enjoying under our Government the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were ever conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism and the degradation of their present position. If they

would dive into any of the volumes mentioned herein, it would take these young Brutuses and Phocians a very short time to learn, that, in the days of that dark period for whose return they sigh, even the bare utterance of their ridiculous fantasies would have been attended, not with silence and contempt, but with the severer discipline of molten lead or empalement. From them too these idle vaporers would learn, that the sacred spark of patriotism is exotic here, and can never fall on a mine that will explode, for history will show them, that certain peculiarities of physical as well as moral organization, neither to be strengthened by diet nor improved by education, have hitherto prevented their even attempting a national independence,—which will continue to exist to them but as a name, and as an offscouring of college declamations. We should be compelled to listen no more to the clamours against resumption of rent-free tenures, when almost every page will show, that there was no tenure, whatever its designation, which was not open to resumption in the theory of the law, and which was not repeatedly resumed in practice. Should any ambitious functionary entertain the desire of emulating the “exceeding magnificent” struc-

tures of his Moghul predecessors, it will check his aspirations to learn, that, beyond palaces and porticos, temples and tombs, there is little worthy of emulation. He will find that, if we omit only three names in the long line of Dehli Emperors, the comfort and happiness of the people were never contemplated by them; and with the exception of a few saráís† and bridges—and these only on roads traversed by the imperial camps,—he will see *nothing in which purely selfish considerations did not prevail.*‡ The extreme beauty and elegance of many of their structures it is not

\* This was the grandiloquent declaration of a late Governor General, at a farewell banquet given to him by the Court of Directors. But when his head became turned by the laurels which the victories of others placed upon his brow, these professions were forgotten, and the only monument remaining of his peaceful aspirations is a tank under the palace walls of Dehli, which, as it remains empty one part of the year, and exhales noxious vapours during the other, has been voted a nuisance by the inhabitants of the imperial city, who have actually petitioned that it may be filled up again.

† The present dilapidation of these buildings is sometimes adduced as a proof of our indifference to the comforts of the people. It is not considered, that where they do exist in good repair, they are but little used, and that the present system of Government no longer renders it necessary that travellers should seek protection within fortified enclosures. If they are to be considered proofs of the solicitude of former monarchs for their subjects' welfare, they are also standing memorials of the weakness and inefficiency of their administration. Add to which, that many of the extant serais were the offspring, not of imperial, but of private, liberality.

‡ See p. 242

attempted to deny, but personal vanity was the main cause of their erection, and with the small exception noted above, there is not one which subserves any purpose of general utility. His romantic sentiments may have been excited by the glowing imagery of Lalla Rookh, and he may have indulged himself with visions of Jehángír's broad highway from one distant Capital to the other, shaded throughout the whole length by stately avenues of trees, and accommodated at short distances with saráis and tanks,—but the scale of that Emperor's munificence will probably be reduced in his eyes, when he sees it written, that the same work had already been in great measure accomplished by Sher Sháh, and that the same merit is also ascribed to a still earlier predecessor nor will it be an unreasonable reflection, when he finds, except a ruined mile-stone here and there, no vestige extant of this magnificent highway, and this “delectable alley of trees,” that, after all, that can have been no very stupendous work, which the resources of three successive Emperors have failed to render a more lasting monument. When he reads of the canals of Fíroz Sháh and Alí Mardán Khán intersecting the country, he will find on further examination that, even if

the former was ever open, it was used only for the palace and hunting park of that monarch: but when he ascertains that no mention is made of it by any of the historians of Timúr, who are very minute in their topographical details, and that Báber exclaims in his Memoirs, that in *none* of the Hindústání Provinces are there any canals, (and both these conquerors must have passed over these canals, had they been flowing in their time,) he may perhaps be disposed to doubt if any thing was proceeded with beyond the mere excavation. With respect to Alí Mardán Khán, his merits will be less extolled, when it is learnt that his canals were made, not with any view to benefit the public, but for an ostentatious display of his profusion, in order that the hoards of his ill-gotten wealth might not be appropriated by the monarch to whom he betrayed his trust. When he reads that in some of the reigns of these kings, security of person and property was so great, that any traveller might go where he listed, and that a bag of gold might be exposed on the highways, and no one dare touch it,\* he will learn to exercise a wise

\* It is worth while to read the comment of the wayfaring European on this pet phrase Bernier, describing his situation when he arrived

scepticism, on ascertaining that in one of the most vigorous reigns, in which internal tranquillity was more than ever secured, a caravan was obliged to remain six weeks at Muttra, before the parties who accompanied it thought themselves strong enough to proceed to Dehli; that the walls of Agra were too weak to save the city from frequent attacks of marauders, that Canauj was a favorite beat for tiger-shooting, and wild elephants plentiful at Karra and Calpí, that the depopulation of towns and cities, which many weak controversialists have ascribed to our measures of policy, had already commenced before we entered on possession; and that we found, to use the words of the Prophet, “the country desolate, the cities burnt, when the sons of strangers came to build up the walls, and their kings to minister”

If we pay attention to more general considerations, and wish to compare the relative merits of European and Asiatic Monarchies, we shall find that a perusal of these books will convey many an useful lesson, calculated to foster in us a love and admiration of our country and its venerable institutions.

at the Court of Sháhjehán, speaks of “le peu d’argent qui me restoit de diverses rencontres de voleurs”—*Hist des Etats du Grand Mogol*,



When we see the withering effects of the tyranny and capriciousness of a despot, we shall learn to estimate more fully the value of a balanced constitution. When we see the miseries which are entailed on present and future generations by disputed claims to the crown, we shall more than ever value the principle of a regulated succession, subject to no challenge or controversy. In no country have these miseries been greater than in India. In no country has the recurrence been more frequent, and the claimants more numerous. From the death of Akber to the British conquest of Dehli—a period of two hundred years—there has been only one undisputed succession to the throne of the Moghul Empire, and even that exceptional instance arose from its not being worth a contest—at that calamitous time, when the memory of the ravages committed by Nádir Sháh was fresh in the minds of men, and the active hostility of the Abdálí seemed to threaten a new visitation. Even now, as experience has shown, we should not be without claimants to the pageant throne, were it not disposed of at the sovereign will and pleasure of the British Government, expressed before the question can give rise to dispute,

or encourage those hopes and expectations, which on each occasion sacrificed the lives of so many members of the Royal Family at the shrine of a vain and reckless ambition.

It is this want of a fixed rule of succession to the throne, which has contributed more than any thing else to maintain the kingdom in a constant ferment, and retard the progress of improvement. It was not that the reigning monarch's choice of his successor was not promulgated, but in a pure despotism, though the will of a living autocrat carries with it the force of law, the injunctions of a dead one avail little against the "lang claymore" or the "persuasive gloss" of a gallant or an intriguing competitor. The very law of primogeniture, which seems to carry with it the strongest sanctions, is only more calculated to excite and foment these disturbances, where regal descent is not avowedly based on that rule, and especially in a country where polygamy prevails; for the eldest prince is he who has been longest absent from the Court, whose sympathies have been earliest withdrawn from the influence of his own home, whose position in charge of an independent government inspires most alarm and mistrust in the reigning monarch, and whose

interests are the first to be sacrificed, to please some young and favorite queen, ambitious of seeing the crown on the head of her own child. In such a state of society, the princes themselves are naturally brought up, always as rivals, sometimes as adventurers and robbers ;—the chiefs espouse the cause of one or the other pretender, not for the maintenance of any principle or right, but with the prospect of early advantage or to gratify a personal predilection ; and probably end in themselves aspiring to be usurpers on their own account ;—the people, thoroughly indifferent to the success of either candidate, await with anxiety the issue, which shall enable them to pursue for a short time the path of industry and peace, till it shall again be interrupted by new contests ;—in short, all classes, interests, and institutions are more or less affected by the general want of stability, which is the necessary result of such unceasing turmoil and agitation.

These considerations, and many more which will offer themselves to any diligent and careful peruser of the volumes here noticed, will serve to dissipate the gorgeous illusions which are commonly entertained regarding the dynasties which have passed, and show him

that,—notwithstanding a civil policy and an ungenial climate, which forbid our making this country a permanent home, and deriving personal gratification or profit from its advancement,—notwithstanding the many defects necessarily inherent in a system of foreign administration, in which language, colour, religion, customs, and laws preclude all natural sympathy between sovereign and subject,—we have already, within the half century of our dominion, done more for the substantial benefit of the people, than our predecessors, in the country of their own adoption, were able to accomplish in more than ten times that period ;\* and, drawing auguries from the

\* I speak only with reference to my own Presidency—the North Western Provinces Bengal is said to be a quarter of a century behind it in every symptom of improvement, except mere English education To the North Western Provinces, at least, cannot be applied the taunt, that we have done nothing, compared with the Muhammedan Emperors, with respect to roads, bridges, and canals Even here, in the very seat of their supremacy, we have hundreds of good district roads where one never existed before, besides the 400 miles of trunk-road, which is better than any mail-road of similar extent in Europe, and to which the Emperors never had anything in the remotest degree to be compared The bridge at Jaunpúr is the only one that can enter into competition with our bridge over the Hindun, and would suffer greatly by the comparison,—to say nothing of those over the Jún, the Khanaut, and the Kálí-nadí In canals we have been fifty times more effective Instead of wasting our supply of water on the frivolities of fountains, we have fertilized whole Provinces, which had been barren from time immemorial,—and this even on the lines of which much was marked out by themselves,—leaving out of consideration the magnificent works in progress

past, he will derive hope for the future, that, inspired by the success which has hitherto attended our endeavours, we shall follow them up by continuous efforts to fulfil our high destiny as the Rulers of India.

in the Doáb and Rohilkhand. The scientific survey alone of the North Western Provinces is sufficient to proclaim our superiority; in which every field throughout an area of 52,000 square miles is mapped, and every man's possession recorded. It altogether eclipses the boasted measurement of Akber, and is as magnificent a monument of civilization as any country in the world can produce. Finally, be it remembered that six centuries more have to elapse, before any thing like a comparison can be fairly instituted. It is to be hoped we shall not be idle during that long period.

*Selected works for deposit in our College Libraries, exhibiting a series necessary for a full understanding of the history of Muhammedan India*

Tárikh-i-Ferishta  
Khulásatu-t-Tawárikh  
Chachnāma  
Tárikh-i-Sind  
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## TO THE

## HISTORIANS

### OF

# MUHAMMEDAN INDIA.

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### GENERAL HISTORIES.

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#### I.

### جامع التواريخ رشیدی

JAMIU-T-TAWARIKH RASHÍDÍ

THE Jámnu-t-Tawáíkh Rashídí was completed in A H 710—A D. 1310—and although earlier works, such as the Kámilu-t-Tawáríkh of Ibnu-l-Athú, and the Nízamu-t-Tawáríkh of Baizawí, will be brought under review when we come to the consideration of particular Dynasties, yet this is, in the order of date, the first General History which takes any notice of India, subsequent to the establishment of the throne of Dehli

Fazlullah Rashíd, or Rashídu-d-Dín Ibn Imádu-d-Daulah Abúl Khau Ibn Muwáfika-d-Daulah, was born in A H 645—A D 1247—in the city of Hamadán. His practice of the medical art brought him into notice at the court of the Mongol Sultáns of Persia. He passed part of



his life in the service of Abáká Khán, the Tartar king of Persia, and one of the descendants of Halákú Khán. At a subsequent period, Gházán Khán, who was a friend to literature and the sciences, and who appreciated the merits of Rashídu-d-Dín at their proper value, appointed him to the post of Wazír in A. H. 697—A. D. 1297—in conjunction with Saadu-d-Dín. Rashídu-d-Dín was maintained in his office by Oljáítú, surnamed Khodábandah, the brother and successor of Gházán Khán, and was treated by him with great consideration and rewarded with the utmost liberality. The author himself admits that no sovereign ever lavished upon a subject such enormous sums as he had received from Oljáítú Khán.

Rashídu-d-Dín and his successive colleagues did not manage to conduct the administration with unanimity; but this seems to have arisen less from any infirmity of our author's temper, than from the envy and malice which actuated his enemies. In his first rupture with Saadu-d-Dín he was compelled in self-defence to denounce him, and to cause him to be put to death. Alí Sháh Jabalán, a person of low origin, who had managed by his talents and intrigues to raise himself into consideration, was appointed Saadu-d-Dín's successor at Rashídu-d-Dín's request, but with him he had shortly so serious a misunderstanding, that the Sultán was compelled to divide their jurisdiction, assigning the care of the Western provinces to Alí Sháh, and the Eastern to Rashídu-d-Dín.

Notwithstanding this arrangement, the two Wazírs continued at enmity, and shortly after the death of Oljáítú, who was succeeded by his son Abú Saíd, Alí Sháh so far succeeded in prejudicing the Sultán against the old Minister, that he was, after many years' faithful service, removed from the Wazárat in A H 717—A D 1317. A short time afterwards he was recalled, in order to remedy the mal-administration which was occasioned by his absence, but it was not long before he again lost favor at court, and was accused of causing the death of his patron Oljáítú Khán. It was charged against him that he had recommended a purgative medicine to be administered to the deceased chief, in opposition to the advice of another physician, and that under its effects the King had expired. Rashídu-d-Dín was condemned to death, and his family were, after the usual Asiatic fashion, involved in his destruction. His son Ibiáhím, the chief butler, who was only sixteen years old, and by whose hands the potion was said to have been given to the chief, was put to death before the eyes of his parent, who was immediately afterwards cloven in twain by the executioner. Rashídu-d-Dín was 73 years\* old when he died, and his death occurred in A H 718—A D. 1318. His head was borne through the streets of Tabíz, and proclaimed by the public crier as the head of a Jew, his children and relatives

\* This is the age assigned by M. Quatremère (*Coll. Orientale*, Tom I p. xlv) but these must have been lunar years, if he was born in A D 1247—Hammer-Purgstall says, Rashid-ud-Din was 80 years old when he died (*Geschichte der Ilchane*, Vol II p. 260)

had their property confiscated, and the Raba Rashídí, a suburb which he had built at an enormous expense, was given up to pillage.

The body of the murdered Wazír was buried near the mosque which he had constructed in Tabríz, but it was not destined to repose quietly in its last asylum. Nearly a century after his death, the government of Tabríz, together with that of the whole province of Āzarbáiján, was given by Timúr Lang to his son Mirán Sháh. This young Prince, naturally of a mild disposition, had become partially deranged, in consequence of an injury of the head occasioned by a fall from his horse, and one day, during a temporary access of madness, he caused the bones of Rashídu-d-Dín to be exhumed, and they were finally deposited in the cemetery of the Jews,—a renewal of the insult offered by his enemies at the time of his death, in order to render his name odious amongst Musalmáns. His eldest son, Ghaiásu-d-Dín, was subsequently raised to the same dignities as his father, and met with an equally tragical death.

Almost all those who had conspired to ruin Rashídu-d-Dín, perished in the course of the following year. Alí Sháh, the one most deserving of punishment, alone survived to enjoy the fruits of his crime. He continued by his address to maintain his high honors and the favor of his master, for the space of six years, when he died; being the only Wazír, since the establishment of the Mongol monarchy, who had not met with a violent death.

Rashid-ud-Din was endowed with a wonderful degree of ability and industry. Few men, even of those who have devoted their lives to research, could hope to attain the knowledge acquired by him, and when we recollect, that from his youth upwards he was involved in the intrigues and tumults of the court, and that he bore the principal weight of the administration of an immense empire under three successive Sultans, we cannot but feel the highest respect for his talents. Besides Medicine, together with those sciences which are immediately connected with it, he had cultivated with success, Agriculture, Architecture, and Metaphysics, and had rendered himself conversant with the most abstruse points of Musalmán controversy and doctrine. He was also an accomplished linguist, being acquainted with the Persian, Arabic, Mongolian, Turkish, and Hebrew languages, and, as it seems from his works, with the Chinese also. Amongst his great natural powers, we may reckon as the most important, the talent of writing with extreme facility, this is attested by the voluminousness of his works, and by a passage in one of his writings, in which he asserts that he composed three of his greatest works, viz.—the Kitabu-t-Tawzihat, the Miftahu-t-Tafasi, and the Risalatu-s-Sultaniat, in the short space of eleven months, and this not by giving up his whole time to his literary labours, but in the midst of the cares of government, and without reckoning numerous other treatises on various intricate subjects,

which were written by him during the same period, such as a book on Rural Economy, and works on Theology, Medicine, and Musalmán Theology.

It was not till somewhat late in life that Rashídu-d-Dín turned his thoughts to authorship, and until his master, Gházán Khán, ordered him to compose a history of the Mongols, he had not ventured to commit the results of his learning and meditations to the judgment of the world. This history occupies the first volume of the *Jámiu-t-Tawárikh*, and has received the highest commendation from European scholars.

The work was on the point of completion, when Gházán Khán died, A. H. 703—A. D. 1303. Oljáítú Khán, his successor, not only approved of the plan which our author had followed, and the manner in which he had executed his task, but enjoined him to complete it, and to add thereto a general account of all the people known to the Mongols, and a description of all the countries of the globe. Rashídu-d-Dín undertook this laborious work, and a few years sufficed for its accomplishment, for we find that in A. H. 710—A. D. 1310—the entire history was written, bound, and deposited in the mosque constructed by the author at Tabríz. It is true that the author of the *Tárikh-i Wassáf* affirms, that Rashídu-d-Dín continued his work till A. H. 712, but this, probably, only applies to that portion of it which gives the history of Oljáítú. Haidar Rázi, in his *General History* says, that the por-

tion relating to India was completed in A H 703, the period when our author received orders to commence his researches.

The entire work when completed, received from its author the title of *Jámiu-t-Tawárikh*, and the first volume, which may be considered as a history by itself, continued to be called the *Tárikh-i Gházání*, after the Prince by whose orders it was composed and to whom it was dedicated. A portion of the *Tárikh-i Gházání* has been admirably translated by M Quatremère in the first volume of the *Collection Orientale*, and we are indebted to him for a full account of our Author's Biography and his literary merits. Mr. William Morley has not only undertaken to bring out an edition of the original work relating to the History of India, but to translate the whole of the lately discovered manuscript in the Library of the East India Company. I am not aware that any part of this task is yet performed. M Erdmann has also promised an edition of the original — (*Journal Asiatique*, 2nd Series, Tom I p. 322 )

In inquiries after this work care must be taken not to confound *Jámiu-r-Rashídí* with the *Tárikh-i Rashídí*, which is common in Hindústán, and derives its name of *Rashídí* chiefly (though other reasons are assigned) from being dedicated to the reigning Khán of Moghuls, Abdu-r-Rashíd Khán, by its author, Mirza Haidar Dúghlát Gúgán. It contains nothing respecting the History of India. There is also a Turkish work of the name of *Jámiu-t-Tawárikh*,

of which there is an account in Von Hammer's *Geschichte der Osmanschen Reiches* (Vol ix p 180,) and which the same author quotes as one of his authorities in his *Geschichte der Assassinen*—It was composed A. D 1574, and is said to be compiled chiefly from the Nizámu-t-Tawáríkh of Baizawí, and the Bohjatu-t-Tawáríkh of Shukrulla. There is also an Arabic History which, from similarity of name, may be mistaken for it, the Mukhtasír Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh, by Ibn al Wárdí, a valuable General History from 1097 to 1543 A D

The following account of the contents of the entire Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh, is taken from a notice in Arabic, by Rashídu-d-Dín himself, prefixed to a MS of his theological works, in the Royal Library at Paris

“The book called the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh, comprises four volumes, the first of which contains a preface, an account of the origin of the nations of the Turks, the number of their tribes, and an account of the Kings, Kháus, Amírs, and great men who have sprung from each tribe, also of the ancestors of Changéz Kháu, the history of that monarch's actions, and of his children and descendants, who have occupied the throne down to the time of Oljáítú Sultán To the life of each prince is added his genealogy, an account of his character, and of his wives and children, a notice of the Khalífahs, Kings, Sultáns, and Atábeks, who were contemporary with him, and a history of the remarkable events that occurred during his reign

“The second volume contains an introduction and a history of the life of Oljáítú from the time of his birth to the present day, to this portion of the second volume will be added a supplement, comprising an account of the daily actions of this prince, written by me, and afterwards continued by the court historians This second volume also contains a concise history of the Prophets, Sultans, and Kings of the universe, from the days of Adam to the present time, together with a detailed account of many people, of whom historians have, till now, given little or no description All that I have said respecting them, I have taken from their own books, and from the mouths of the learned men of each

nation, it also gives the history of the people of the book, viz the Jews and the Christians, and the histories of the Sultáns and most celebrated Princes of each country, also an account of the Ismaílís, and many curious and instructive particulars

"The third volume gives, after the preface, a detailed account of the descent of the Prophets, Kings, Khalífahs, the Arab tribes, the companions of the Prophet, Muhammed, &c, from the time of Adam to the end of the dynasty of the Baní Abbás, the genealogy of the ancestors of Muhammed, and of the tribes descended from them, the series of Prophets who have appeared amongst the Baní Isráíl, the Kings of the latter, and an enumeration of their different tribes, the genealogies of the Kaisars and others of the Christian princes, with their names and the number of years of their respective reigns. All these details have been faithfully extracted from the chronicles of these people, and arranged in a systematic order

"The fourth volume comprises a preface and a circumstantial account of the limits of each of the seven climates, the division and extent of the vast countries of the globe, the geographical position and description of the greater part of the cities, seas, lakes, valleys, and mountains, with their longitudes, and latitudes. In writing this portion of our work, we have not been satisfied merely with extracts from the most esteemed geographical works, but we have, besides, made inquiries from the most learned men and those who have themselves visited the countries described, we have inserted in our relation, particulars obtained from the learned men of Hind, Chín, Máchín, the countries of the Franks, &c, and others which have been faithfully extracted from works written in the languages of those different countries "

This is the account given by our author himself of his work; it must, however, be remarked, that in the preface to the *Tárikh-i Gházání*, and in many other passages, he speaks of three volumes only, writing under the head of the second, the matters which here form the contents of the second and third. The easiest way of accounting for this contradiction is to suppose that he subsequently divided this second volume into two portions, on account of its great bulk and disproportion in size to the others

In the preface to the *Tárikh-i Gházání*, the work is divided, as mentioned above, into three



volumes, according to the following distribution :—

The contents of the first volume are the same as given in the preceding description, and it is dedicated to Gházán Khán. It comprises two books and several sections

The second volume contains the history of Oljáitú Sultán, (to whom it was dedicated,) from his birth to the time when our author wrote, this forms the first division of the volume. The second division comprises two parts, the first of which is again sub-divided into two sections. The first section contains an abridged history of all the Prophets, Khalífahs, and of the different races of men, to the year of the Flight, 700. The second section comprises a detailed chronicle of all the inhabitants of the earth, according to their races, extracted from their various writings, and from the mouths of natives of the different countries. The second part is filled with the remaining portion of the history of Oljáitú, "the Sultán of Islamism," as he is styled, and was destined to be continued in chronological order to the time of his death. "The historians who are, or may be, servants of the court, will take care to write this, and add it as a supplement to this second volume."

The third volume comprises the description of the geographical charts, and the various routes from one place to another, taken from the sources already mentioned. "The author has, as far as was in his power, multiplied and verified his researches from all that was previously known on the subject in this country, whether described in books or drawn in charts. To this he has added all that during this fortunate epoch the philosophers and wise men of Hind, Chín, Máchín, Farang, and other countries have written, and has entered it all in this third volume, after having fully ascertained its authenticity."

The extended notice which is here given to Rashídu-d-Dín and the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh, is not only due to his merits as an historian, and to the curious sources of his information on Indian subjects, but to the interest which has been excited within the last ten years by the discovery, under very peculiar circumstances, of the largest portion of the work, which was supposed to have been lost.

A full account of this extraordinary discovery is given in the sixth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the following extract from the letter of Professor Forbes, comprises some of the most interesting particulars of the circumstances with which it was attended.

Mr W Morley has kindly presented to me a copy of his interesting letter addressed to Major General Briggs, respecting the portion of the *Jámiu-t-Tawárikh*, now in the Society's Library. About the time when Mr Morley's communication was passing through the press, I accidentally fell in with a much larger portion of the *Jámiu-t-Tawárikh*, comprising one half the original volume, of which the Society's fragment forms about one-fifth. The two fragments have been clearly proved (as you will perceive hereafter) to be parts of the same grand original, and it is curious enough that after many years, perhaps centuries, of separation, they should have at last met in a portion of the earth so remote from their native city.

That portion of the *Jámiu-t-Tawárikh* which forms the subject of the present hasty and imperfect communication, belonged to the late Colonel John Baillie, a distinguished member of the Asiatic Society. Shortly after the death of that eminent Orientalist, his house in town was let, and his books and manuscripts were temporarily removed to the house of a friend in Soho Square, previous to their being conveyed to the family estate in Inverness-shire. They have remained however undisturbed in Soho Square ever since. A few weeks ago I happened to have a pupil who lived in the same house, and from his description of some of the MSS I felt and expressed my wishes to see them, in which request I was most readily indulged.

The first, indeed I may say the only, work that caught my attention was a large Arabic manuscript of an historical nature, written in a beautiful and very old Naskhí hand, with many pictures very creditably executed, all things considered. On the back of this rare volume is written in a distinct Persian hand, "*Tárikh-i-Tabarí*," and as if this were not sufficient, there is a note written in Persian, on a blank page, folio 154, of which the following is a literal translation. "The name of this book is *The Tárikh-i-Tabarí*, (the History or Chronicle of Tabarí,) the author's autograph. The whole number of leaves when complete, amounted to 303, now however, some one has stolen and carried off our half of it, or about 150 leaves. It was written by the author's own hand, in the year of the Hegira 706 (A. D. 1306-7)." —

The information intended to be conveyed in this note, is, unfortunately, rendered very suspicious, by the date given in the conclusion, as Tabarí had flourished some 450 lunar years earlier. On examining the work itself, I found that the Mñhammedan history came down to the last of the Khalífas of Bagdad, hence it could not be the original Tabarí. As D'Herbelot, however, has mentioned two writers who have continued the history of Tabarí down to their own times, I thought this might possibly be one of them, and in order to verify the circumstance, I took the Persian version with me next day to compare them, but after making the most liberal allowance for the freedom generally used by Oriental translators, I found that the two could never have been intended for the same work.

Resolved, if possible, to arrive at some satisfactory conclusion respecting the MS, I requested a very intelligent native of India to accompany me to see it. The moment this gentleman looked at it, he told me that whether it was Tabarí or not, he had seen the identical book some months back in a house where he visited. On further enquiry, I learned that the book to which he alluded, belonged to the Asiatic Society. Next day I examined the Society's MS and found, as I had concluded, that it forms part of the *half* that is missing in Colonel Bailhe's MS. In proof of this, I may mention that the ink and the handwriting are the same in both. The length and breadth and number of lines in each page are the same, and the paintings are in the same style in both. The work had been numbered originally by leaves or folios, as is usual in Oriental MS, these numbers still remain on the second page of each leaf, and every leaf of the Society's fragment is missing in Colonel Bailhe's work. There is no question then, that as Šádí hath it, "they are limbs of one another," for assuredly they originally consisted of but one work.

A copy of this letter was forwarded to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and a request was made that the Society would interest itself in searching for manuscripts of the work. A Circular was in consequence issued to many of the native chiefs and literati of India, but no satisfactory reply was received. Upon that occasion I pointed out to the Society that the work was probably in their own Library, for that an anonymous volume, purporting to contain precisely the same matter, was brought by Sir J. Malcolm

from Persia, and presented to the College of Fort William, as appeared from a notice at the end of Stewart's Catalogue of Tipú Sultan's Library. The work was searched for and discovered, in consequence of this information, among those which were transferred from the College of the Asiatic Society (See *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, Vol X p 934 )

It was not till some years afterwards that I had the satisfaction of reading the superb French publication, entitled *Collection Orientale*, in the preface to the first Volume of which I found that the very same enquiry had been suggested by M Quatremère, in the following passage: "au nombre des MSS. apportés de Perse par le Major Malcolm et offerts par lui au Collège du Fort William, je trouve un ouvrage ayant pour titre Djami-altawarikh-kadim Ce livre ferait-il partie du travail de Rashideldin ? C'est ce que je n'ai pu vérifier " (*Vie et les ouvrages de Rashideldin*, seconde Partie, p lxxxv ) Had this enquiry then attracted the attention of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, it would have resulted in an earlier discovery of the missing volume, but when at last it was drawn forth from their Library, it had become of comparatively little importance, for, in the meantime, a manuscript of the Persian original had been found in the Library of the East India House, of which a full description was shortly after given in the seventh volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, from which the following extract is taken

The MS in question is of a large folio size, and contains in all 1189 pages, but as numerous spaces have been left for the insertion of paintings, the actual volume of the work is not equal to its apparent extent, the character is a small and tolerably clear Nastalik, the transcriber was evidently both careless and ignorant, and the text abounds with errors—this is particularly conspicuous in the spelling of the names of places and individuals, the same name being frequently written in two or three different ways in the same page, many considerable omissions also occur in the body of the work, the original from which our MS was transcribed being, in all probability, damaged or defective in those parts

The *Jámu-l-Tawárikh* consists of a collection of histories, (as its name imports,) each distinct from the others and complete in itself. Those contained in our MS occur in the following order

I A general history of Persia and Arabia, from the earliest times to the fall of the *Khiláfat* this history comprises a preface and two sections. The preface contains an account of Adam and his children, of *Núh* and his posterity, of the reign of *Kaiomars*, the first of the kings of Fars, and of the tribes of the Arabs, to the time of the prophet *Muhammed*. This preface mentions that the history was composed in the year of the Flight 700, from various traditional and written authorities

Section 1 contains a history of the kings of Fars, and of the events that occurred in their respective reigns; also accounts of the prophets from the time of *Kaiomars* until that of *Yazdajurd*, the last of the kings of *Ajam*

Section 2 contains a copious and detailed history of the prophet *Muhammed* and his *Khalifahs* to the time of *Al Mustasim Billah*. This history, which in our MS comprises 364 pages, was transcribed in the month of *Shawwál*, in the year of the Flight 1081. It is contained entire in the MS of Colonel *Baillie*, with the absence of forty-six leaves, seven of which are, however, to be found in the MS of the Royal Asiatic Society

II A concise history of the *Sultán Mahmúd Sobaktagín*, the *Ghaznavides*, the *Samánides*, the *Búyides*, and some others, to the time of *Abú-l-Fath Múddud Ben Masaúd*, and the year of his death, viz, the 547th of the Flight. This history comprises fifty-six pages, and was transcribed in the month *Zí'l Hijjah*, and the 1081st year of the Flight. This is also in Colonel *Baillie's* MS, of which it forms the third portion

III. A history of the *Saljúkí* kings and of the *Atábeks*, to the time of *Toghrul Ben Muhammed Ben Mohk Sháh*, the last of the *Saljúks*, who was slain in the year of the Flight 589. It comprises forty-two pages

To this history is added a supplement, composed by *Abú Hamud Ibn Ibrahim*, in the year of the Flight 599, it contains

an account of the fall of the Saljúks, and the history of the kings of Khárizm, to the time of Jalála-l-Dín, the last of that dynasty. This supplement comprises twenty-five pages, and apparently formed part of the original Jámu-l-Tawárikh, as Professor Forbes mentions two leaves existing at the end of Colonel Bailhe's MS, which are occupied with the history of Khárizm.

IV A history of Oghúz, and of the other Sultáns and Kings of the Turks, it comprises twenty-two pages. At the end, it is stated that this history is to be followed by that of the Kháns of Chín and Máchín.

V A history of Khutá, and of the Kings of Chín and Máchín, to the time of the conquest by the Mongols. It comprises forty-six pages. At the end it is stated that this history is to be succeeded by that of the Baní Isráíl. The concluding part of this account of Khutá is contained in the MS of the Royal Asiatic Society.

VI. A history of the children of Israel, comprising forty-eight pages. At the end it is stated that this history is to be followed by that of the Franks, and the date of transcription is said to be the month Safar, in the year of the Flight 1082. The first portion of this history occurs in the MS of the Royal Asiatic Society.

VII A history of the Franks, from the creation of Adam to the time when the author wrote, viz, 705th year of the Flight, giving a short account of the various Emperors and Popes, amounting to little more than a list of mis-spelt names. It comprises 122 pages, and bears the date of Rabiu-l-Awwal, in the year of the Flight 1082.

VIII A history of the Sultáns of Hind and of the Hindús. It comprises fifty-eight pages. This history exists in the MS of the Royal Asiatic Society, supplying the lacuna in that MS, where about six pages are wanting.

IX A treatise on metempsychosis, extracted from the Tauzí-hátí Rashídí by Rashidu-l-Dín. This treatise comprises twelve pages. The date of transcription is Rabiu-l-Awwál, in the 1082 year of the Flight, the name of the scribe is also here given, viz, Táhir Ibn Al Báki Aláyí.

X The general preface and contents of the whole volume, headed, "This is the book of the collection of histories."

This preface comprises eight pages. It has been published, with a translation by M Quatremère, in the first volume of the *Collection Orientale*.

XI The first volume of the Jámu-l-Tawárikh, entitled, the Táríkh Gházání, and containing an account of the Turks and Mongols to the time of Oljáitú Khodábendah, who reigned when the author completed his work. This history comprises 386 pages, and was transcribed in the month Shabán, and the year of the Flight 1082.

By comparing this Table of Contents with the one above given by Rashídu-d-Dín himself, it will be seen that the India-House Manuscript does not contain the entire work ; the parts deficient being, the first division of the second volume, containing the life of Oljáitú Sultán, with the supplementary journal, and the whole of the third volume, containing the Geography

It is, however, very probable that the last volume was never written, for we nowhere find any mention amongst Eastern authors of Rashídu-d-Dín as a writer on Geography ; and what gives greater colour to this probability is, that he intersperses some of his narratives with geographical details, which in many instances might be considered to supersede the necessity of any further notice in a separate volume. This may be observed in the case of the Geography of India, which will shortly have to be noticed. He exhausts in that brief account all that was then known to the Western Asiatics of the Geography of India, and he could therefore merely have repeated in the third, what he had already given in the second volume

It does not appear that these successive discoveries of the Jámiu-t-Tawárikh in English collections have been followed by others on the Continent of Europe. None have been announced from Paris, or Leyden, and two passages in the Preface to the *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, (p. xv and xx1 ) show that, up to 1840, no copy had been discovered in Germany

Mr. Morley perhaps attached a little too much importance to the discovery, for he entertained the same opinion as M. Quatremère, that the second portion of the *Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh* was altogether lost. To him is certainly due the credit of having rescued it from oblivion, but the work is by no means so much unknown as they had been led to suppose. Not only do Mírkhond and the author of the *Kímyá-i-Saádat*, notice it, as observed by Professor Forbes, but Sádik Isfahání quotes it under the article "*Máchín*" in his *Tahkíku-l-Íráb*, Muslíhu-d-dín-al-Lárá quotes it in his *Mirátu-l-Adwár*, Hamdulla Mustaufi in his *Táríkh-i Guzída*, Ahmed-al-Ghaffárá in his *Nigáristán*, and Haider Rázi confesses to have extracted from it no less than 40,000 lines, if *bart* may be so translated, when referring to an historical work in prose.

It seems to have been doubted whether the *Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh* was originally written in Arabic or Persian. Most authors who have mentioned the work consider it to have been written in Persian, and translated under the author's direction into Arabic; but it is certain that no Persian copies were very generally available in Akbar's time, for Abdu-l-Kádir Badáúní states, under the transactions of A. H. 1000, that he was directed by the Emperor to translate the *Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh* from Arabic into Persian. It does not exactly appear from the text whether this was an abridgment or a translation, but the portion which was completed



by Abdu-l-Kádir is distinctly said to have been translated from the Arabic. It is curious that the translation of a part of the modern history, executed under the orders of Colonel Franklin, and presented by him to the Royal Asiatic Society, should also bear the name of Abdu-l-Kádir, who thus appears to have executed a second time what his namesake had done before him more than two hundred and fifty years ago.

In the library of the British Museum there is a very valuable copy of the Persian original, (No. 7628, Addit ) written by different transcribers, as early as A. D 1314, four years before the author's death. This copy was noticed by Dr. Bernhard Dorn in the preface to his "History of the Afgháns," before the appearance of the articles above mentioned. It is supposed to have belonged to Oljáítú Khán, and to have come subsequently into the possession of Sháh Rukh, the son of Timár. It would indeed have been surprising had the work been so little known as is supposed, for we are informed in the *Tárikh-i Wassáf* and *Rauzatu-s-Safá*, that the author expended no less than 60,000 dinárs in the transcription and binding of his own writings. Every precaution was taken by him to secure his labours from destruction, and considerable revenues were set aside for the purpose of copying and disseminating them, both in Arabic and Persian, throughout the most considerable cities of the Muhammedan world.

I know of no copy in India except the Asiatic Society's volume, which will shortly receive more

particular notice; but an exceedingly valuable portion of the work, comprising the account of India, exists in the Royal Library at Lakhnau, under the wrong title of *Tárikh-ı Sabuktigin*. It includes portions of three different Books, for it begins with the history of Mahmúd Sabuktigin and the dynasty of the Ghaznavides, and contains the history of the Kings of Khwárazm, the Saljúkians, the Búyides, and part of the history of Khalifs. It is embellished with paintings which are beyond the average degree of Asiatic merit, and the text is written in a clear *naskh* character, comprising one hundred and five folios, with thirty-five lines to a page. It would be useful for the purpose of collation, although in many parts it is written very incorrectly, especially in the names of places, where accuracy is particularly desirable. I know of two copies of the *Tárikh-ı Gházání*, but they contain no portion which has not already been made familiar to the public by the French edition of M Quatremère noticed above \*

I will now proceed to describe the volume in the Asiatic Society's Library,—premising that it was copied A H 1098, and is written in a clear *nastalík* character.

\* Compare *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vol V pp 265—272 *Journal des Savans*, 1838 pp 501—514 Klaproth, *Mém Tom I* p 293 Von Hammer, *Geschichte der schonen Redekunste Persiens*, pp 12, 242 Dr Bernhard Dorn, *Hist of the Afghans*, p 25 Wilken, *Hist Ghaznevidarum*, p xii *Journal of the Asiatic Soc Bengal*, Vol IX p 1131, Vol X p 934 *Sádík Isfahání*, p 45 *Journal Asiatique*, 2nd Series, Tom I p 322, 3rd Series, No 36, pp 571—589 *Collection Orientale*, Vol I pp 1—175 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc* Vol VI pp 11—41, Vol VII pp 267—272 *Geschichte der Ilchane*, Vol II pp 150, 219, 243, 259—262 M. Abel Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, Tom I. 138—441.

I A history of the Saljúkí kings, to the last of the dynasty, Abú Tálib Tughríl, son of Arslán. This extends to p 44, where a continuation by Abú Hámíd Muhammed, son of Ibráhím, commences, comprising also the history of the Sultans of Khwárazm, extending from pp 44 to 64.

II A history of Oghúz and the Turks From pp 65 to 77. The epigraph states that it is followed by a history of China

III A history of the kháns and kings of Chín and Máchín, and of the capital called Khitá. The portraits in this book almost all represent the kings with two tails below their caps. At the end it is stated that this chapter is followed by an account of the Baní Isráíl. This history extends from pp 78 to 114

IV. A history of the children of Isráíl, said to be succeeded by a history of the Franks and Cæsars From pp 115 to 156.

V. This book is divided into two chapters and several sections

Chapter 1st. Adam and his descendants.—Núh and his descendants—Ibráhím and his descendants, to the Virgin Mary—Moses—The kings of Persia—The Greeks—The Arabs—Muhammed—The Moghuls.—The Khalifas to the close of the Abbáside dynasty.

Chapter 2nd. On the belief of Christians—The country of Armenia—The country, seas and islands of the Franks—The birth of the Messiah—The Emperors of Rúm—The Popes and Cæsars, with fancy portraits intended to represent each of these two last.

The proper sequence is interrupted by some mistake of the binder, but the whole of this unconnected book extends from pp. 157 to 467

VI. A history of Sultán Mahmúd Sabuktigin—The Ghaznavides—Sámánides, and the Búyides The subdivisions of this book are as follows —

Respecting the victory of Bust—The victory of Kasdár—Account of Sistán—Regarding Kábús and Fakhrú-d-Daulah.—Concerning the restoration of Fakhrú-d-Daulah to his government, and his friendship with Hisámu-d-Daulah Tásh—Respecting Abú-l Hasan, son of Símhúr, and his administration in Khorásán, to the time of his death, and the succession of his son Ubú Alí—Regarding Fáik and his condition after his defeat at Marv—Retirement of Núh, son of Mansúr, from Bokhára, and the arrival of Bughrá Khán at Bokhára—Regarding Abú-l Kásim, son of Símhúr and brother of Abú Alí, and his condition after his separation from his brother.—The Amíru-l Múminín Alkádír Billah confers a robe of honour on Sultán Yemínu-d-Daulah—The return of Abdu-l Malik—Abú Ibráhím Ismaíl and the occurrences between him, Eibak Khán and Amír Nasr, son of Násrú-d-Dín—Regarding the Sámání Amírs, and the occurrences of their reigns.—Relating to the friendship and enmity between

Násiru-d-Dín, Sabuktigin and Khalaf, son of Ahmad, and the assumption of the reins of government by the Sultán —Respecting Shamsu-l-Maálí Kábús, and his return to his country —The friendship and subsequent enmity between the Sultán and Eibak Khán —Relating to the sacred war of Bhátiah —Respecting the capture of the fort of Bhím —Regarding the family of the khalif Alkádír Billáh, and his government —His attachment to the Sultán and Baháu-d-Daulah, son of Uzdu-d-Daulah.—An account of Bahau-d-Daulah —Respecting the affair at Nárain —Relating to the sacred war of Ghor —Regarding the traitors after their return from Máwaráu-n-Nahr —Relating to the retirement of Bughrá Khán from Bokhárá, and the return of Núh, son of Mansúr, to his home —Respecting the Afgháns —Amír Nasr, son of Násiru-d-Dín Sabuktigin —The reign of Muhammed, son of Mahmúd —The reign of Abú-l Fateh Maudúd, son of Masaúd, son of Mahmúd From pp 468 to 523

VII. On Hind and Sind and Shákmúní, divided into the following chapters and sections —

Chapter 1st On eras and revolutions —The measurement of the earth —On the four júgas —The hills and waters of Hind. —On its countries, cities and towns —On the islands —The Sultáns of Dehli —The birth of Básdeo, and the kings of India preceding Mahmúd —On Cashmír, its hills, waters and cities —An account of the kings of the Trítá júg —The kings of the Dwápar júg —The kings of the Kal júg

Chapter 2nd An account of the prophets of the Hindús, of whom there are six of the highest class, Shákmúní being the sixth.—On the birth of Shákmúní —On the properties and signs of a perfect man —On the character, conduct, and sayings of Shákmúní —On the austerities of Shákmúní, and his incorporation with the divine essence —Further proceedings of Shákmúní. —On his appearance in various forms —On the knowledge of certain prayers addressed to God —On the different degrees of metempsychosis, and the number of hells —How a man can become a god —How a man can escape from the form of a beast —How a man can escape from the form of another man —On the difference between men and angels —On the questions put to Shákmúní by the angels —On the information given by Shákmúní respecting another prophet —On the rewards of paradise and the punishments of hell, and the injunctions and prohibitions of Shákmúní —On the establishment of his religion in Hind and Cashmír —On the death of Shákmúní, and the events which followed From pp. 524 to 572

VIII An essay in refutation of the doctrine of transmigration, extracted from the Tauzíhát-i-Rashídí From pp 572 to 581.

It appears, therefore, that this volume comprises the same matter as the East India House MS, with the exception of the *Tárikh-i Gházání*, of which that MS. contains the first portion. The arrangement, however, of the several books is very different, as will be evident to any one who feels disposed to compare them.

The following extract is taken from the continuation of the History of the Saljúkian sovereigns, and recounts one of the most interesting events in Indian History. Other historians have narrated the same circumstances without much variation, except in the minor details (Compare Mirkhond, *Rauzat-u-s-Safá*, Book iv. Ferishta, Book ix. *History of Sind* Abú-l-fedá, *Annales Muslemici*, Vol IV. p. 382. M. Petis de la Croix, Senior, *Histoire de Genghizcan*, Ch xxxiv. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Art. *Gelaladdin*; and De Guignes, *Histoire Générale des Huns*, Tom. II. p. 281) These four last chiefly derive their accounts from Muhammed-bin-Ahmed Nasawí, the friend of Jalálu-d-Dín, and the companion of his journies and expeditions. This work, entitled *Senat-ı Jalálu-d-Dín Mankberní*, is in the Royal Library of Paris, No. 845. It is in eight chapters, and the history is brought down to Jalálu-d-Dín's death, A. D 1231. It was composed in 1241. (See Rémusat, *Nour : Mél : As : Tom I. p 435.*)

The passage here selected will show in what imminent danger India was then placed of sustaining an invasion of the Moghuls, headed by

Changez Khán in person Some of the authorities above quoted mention that several bodies did cross over the Indus in pursuit, and that Prince Chaghatái Khán headed an attack against Multán, and captured it

At nightfall every one retired to his tent, and in the morning both armies were again drawn up in battle array This day Sultán Jalálu-d-Dín marched on foot at the head of his army, and all at once made a charge upon the Moghuls, and put them to flight The kettle-drums were beaten in triumph by order of the Sultán, and his whole army pursued the Moghuls on horseback at full speed At one time the defeated Moghuls rallied, but the Sultán rushed upon them, like a lion or crocodile upon its prey, and put many to death Changez Khán shortly afterwards being reinforced with a small body of men, moved like destructive lightning or a rapid torrent against the Sultán In the meantime, a dispute arising between Saifu-d-Dín Ighrák and Amín Malik, (Governor of Herát) on account of the distribution of booty,\* and especially respecting the right to a particular horse, the latter struck the former on the head with a whip The king called upon Amín Malik to give an explanation of his conduct, but he replied that it was not the custom of Kátlali troops to be held responsible for their proceedings Upon learning this, Saifu-d-Dín deserted the Sultán under cover of night, and went off with his troops to the hills of Kermán and Sankúrán The alienation of Saifu-d-Dín Ighrák materially affected the power of the Sultán, and diminished his chance of success He immediately made towards Ghazní, with the object of crossing the Indus, and for that purpose ordered boats to be kept in readiness This circumstance coming to the knowledge of Changez Khán, the latter hastened in pursuit of the Sultán, and surrounded him At daybreak, the Sultán finding himself placed in a position between water and fire, with the Indus on the one side and the fiery enemy on the other, was prepared to give battle Changez Khán fell upon the right wing commanded by Amín Malik, like a fierce lion upon a lame leopard, and drove it back with great slaughter. Amín Malik being thus defeated, fled towards Persháwar, but as the Moghul army was in possession of the road, he was slain, in the endeavour to effect his escape Changez Khán compelled the left wing also to give way, but the Sultán firmly maintained his ground in the centre with seven hundred men, and opposed the enemy from the

\* This booty was chiefly captured at the battle of Birúán, within a short distance of Ghazni, and which is erroneously supposed by Dr. Lee to be the Badrún of Dow and Ferishta — *Ibn Batuta*, p 97

morning to mid-day, moving now to right now to left, sustaining every attack, and on each occasion slaying a number of the enemy. Meantime, the army of Changez Khán came pressing forward, and surrounding the position occupied by the Sultán. At last Ajásh Mahk, son of the king's maternal uncle, seeing the dangerous position of his Majesty, seized the bridle of his charger, and persuaded him to leave the field. The Sultán bade adieu to his sons and female relatives, with a heavy heart and burning tears, and ordering his favorite horse to be prepared, he sprung on it, and rushed again into the torrent of conflict, like a crocodile into a river, and charged the enemy with irresistible force. Having succeeded in driving them back, he turned his horse's head, threw off on the way his coat of mail and shield, and urging his horse, plunged into the river, though the bank was upwards of thirty feet above the stream. He then swam\* across like a noble lion, and reached the opposite bank in safety. Changez Khán witnessed the gallant exploit, and hastening to the bank prohibited the Moghuls from attempting to follow. The very heavens exclaimed in surprise "They never saw in the world any man equal to him, nor did they ever hear of one like him among the celebrated heroes of antiquity"† Changez Khan and all the Moghul nobles were astonished to find that the Sultán crossed the river in safety, and sat watching him as he wiped the water off his scabbard ‡ Changez Khán turning round to the Sultán's sons, § addressed them in words expressive of his admiration.

\* The original distinctly says "swam across the Jihún"—whether intentionally, or by error of the copyist, is doubtful. Eastern authors for a long time considered, either that the source of the Mehrán (Indus) was the river Jihún (Oxus), or that the sources of the two rivers were in the same mountain (Uylenbroek, *Iracæ Persicæ Descriptio*, p. 54, Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 179, 205, Ouseley, *Oriental Geography*, p. 155, Masaúdi, *Meadows of Gold*, p. 38). A similar perverse use of the Sihún (Jaxartes) also occurs in the *Tárikh Yemín-í*, where it is used to signify the Indus, and can be applicable to no other river, and again in *Abú-l-fedá (Annal Muslem Vol. III p. 113)* where Reiske observes, "In Arabico legitur Sihunum, quod aperte mendosum est."

† Four years before, Shamsu-d-Din, the king of Dehli, had done the same thing, when in pursuit of Násiru-d-Din Kabácha, and though he succeeded in reaching the opposite bank with a few followers, many were drowned in the attempt. Mahárajá Ranjit Singh has gained fame by his accomplishment of the same feat.

‡ The Rauzatu-s-Safa and Ferishta represent Jalálu-d-Din as having carried his canopy with him, and seating himself under it when he had attained the opposite bank. The former also mentions that Changez Khán killed all the males in the Sultán's camp, and ordered his servants to search for the jewels which the Sultán had thrown into the Indus before his escape.

§ The Habíbu-s-Siyar differs from other authorities in saying he turned round, and addressed his own sons.

After his escape, the Sultán was joined by about ten persons who had also succeeded in crossing the river. They all concealed themselves in the woods, where, before long, fifty other persons joined their number. When the Sultán received intelligence that a number of Hindús, consisting of cavalry and infantry, were lying within two parasangs of him, and had given themselves up to pleasure, he ordered his followers to provide themselves with clubs. Thus armed, they made a sudden night-attack upon the Hindú force, put many to death, and plundered their cattle and weapons. Upon this, several other people, some on mules and some on horned cattle, came over, and declared for the Sultán. Information being afterwards received that there were in the neighbourhood two or three thousand men of the Hindú force, he attacked them with one hundred and twenty men, put a number of them to the sword, and equipped his followers with the arms taken from the vanquished. When the report of the success and power of the Sultán was spread throughout India, a number of men from the hills of Balálá\* and Nekálá assembled, and in a body of about five or six thousand horse, attacked the Sultán, who, drawing up in array five hundred horse, dispersed them. The Sultán afterwards received aid from several other bodies of men, so that there now flocked round his standard not less than three or four thousand men. All this came to the knowledge of the world-conquering king (of Delhi) who had already raised an army to oppose him, while he was within the limits of the Ghazúin territory—but when the Sultán first crossed the river, he was not able to cope with these troops, and therefore passed on as a fugitive towards Delhi.

The Moghuls, on hearing that he had taken that course, returned, and pillaged the confines of Ghor. The Sultán, on reaching the vicinity of Delhi, deputed messengers to king Shamsu-d-Din to communicate his arrival, and to prefer a request to reside temporarily in some village near Delhi. The King after mature reflection deputed a messenger† on his part with presents to the Sultán, but objected to comply with his demand for a place of residence, on the ground that the climate of India would not suit the constitution of the Sultán. On receiving this reply, the Sultán returned to Balálá and Nekálá. Those who had effected their escape joined him, and he had now about ten thousand men under him. He deputed Tájn-d-Dín Malík Khilj, accompanied by a force, to Rái Kúkar‡ Saknín, in the hills of Júdí,§ with a request

\* All who record these events concur in reading the first word as Balálá. The second may be either Bankála or Mankála.

† Mirkhond and Ferishta mention that the Sultán's ambassador or messenger was secretly poisoned, the object of which is not very apparent.

‡ Other authorities read Ghekar.

§ Amongst Oriental Geographers this is the name of mount Ararat in Armenia, on which Noah's ark is said to have rested. In the Pan-jáb it applies to the salt range.



for the hand of his daughter, which request Rái Kúkár complied with, and sent his son with a number of troops to wait upon the Sultán, who gave the name of Kutlagh Khán to the son, and sent an army under the command of Uzbek Pái against Násiru-d-Dín Kabácha,\* who was at enmity with Rái Kúkár Kabácha, though he was an Amír under the Ghorian Kings, and governor of the country of Sind, yet was presumptuous enough to aspire to independence. When this chief and twenty thousand of his followers were encamped on the banks of the Indus within one parasang of Uch, Jchán Pahluwán Uzbek, with seven thousand men, suddenly fell upon them at night, defeated, and dispersed them. Kabácha embarked in a boat for Akar and Bakar (two island forts in his possession), while the Uzbek returned to his camp, taking possession of whatever fell in his way. He sent the news of this victory to the Sultán, who marched out, and with the army, which was under the command of the Uzbek, reached the palace of Kabácha. The latter being defeated fled from Akar and Bakar to Múltán, where the Sultán sent an ambassador to him with a demand for money, and for the surrender of the son and daughter of Amír Khán, who had taken shelter at Múltán, having fled from the battle which took place on the banks of the Indus. Kabácha sent the son and daughter of Amír Khán with a large contribution in money, soliciting at the same time that his territories might not be despoiled. The weather, however, growing hot, the Sultán determined to proceed from Uch to the Júdí hills, and on his way besieged the fort of Bísram, where in an engagement he was wounded in the hand by an arrow. In the end, the Sultán captured the fort, and put all who were in it to the sword. At this place he received intelligence of the movement of the Moghul troops, who were endeavoring to effect his capture. He sent an ambassador to Kabácha to intimate his return, and to demand the tribute due by him. Kabácha however, refused and took up arms against him. The Sultán did not consider it expedient to remain at Uch, and as the inhabitants of that place had revolted, he set fire to the city and marched upon Sadúsán, where Fakhrud-Dín had been the Governor before the establishment of Kabácha's power. Lachín of Khita, the commander of the troops, marched to oppose him. The latter was slain in the conflict, but the former, upon the Sultán's arrival at the place, with tears supplicated for pardon, and presented his sword in token of submission. The Sultán remained there for one month, and then conferred an honorary dress upon Fakhrud-Dín, and making over to him the government of Sadúsán, marched towards Dewal (Daibal) and Damrila. Hasrar, who was the ruler of this territory, took to flight and embarked on a boat. The Sultán on reaching the borders of Dewal and Damrila deputed Khás Khán with a force to Nahrwála, from which place he brought away much spoil and many prisoners. Shortly after,

\* Kabájah is the common spelling

the Sultán entered Dewal and Damrila, and erected a great mosque in the former place, opposite the temple of an idol \*. In the meantime, intelligence was received from Irák that Ghaíasu-d-Dín Sultán had settled himself in Irák, that most of the troops of that country professed their attachment to Sultán Jalálu-d-Dín, and felt anxious for his presence. Upon this the Sultán prepared to join them, but on learning that Birák Hájb was with hostile intentions fortifying the strong post of Budsír in Kirmán, he determined on proceeding to Irák by way of Mekrán.

The next extract relates to the Geography of India. It is taken almost entirely from the work of Abú Rihán al-Bírúní, composed in the early part of the eleventh century, and therefore represents the knowledge of India which was attained by the Mahometan invaders three hundred years before our author wrote. We are fortunately able to compare a great part of this passage with the original Arabic which has lately been published by M. Reinaud, and it will be seen how few additions have been made by Rashídu-d-Dín, and how scrupulously he follows his predecessor, even in his errors. M. Reinaud is mistaken (*Fragments*, p. xv.) in supposing that our author did not make use of the published chapters of Bírúní. For the purpose of comparison, a Note† is appended, showing what was the knowledge attained of India by eastern Geographers before the time of Al Bírúní; from which it will be evident that the whole of upper India was a perfect *terra incognita*, and that the Arabians knew much less of it than Pliny and Ptolemy. Even Abú-l-fedá, who

\* Ferishta says that the name of the chief of Daibal, or Thatta, was Jaishí, and that the Sultau demolished the temples of the idols at that place.

† See Note A

wrote more than three centuries later, and quotes the works of Edrísí and Yácut. and most of the other geographical treatises written during that interval. gives us less information about India than is contained in the following extract. This consideration, therefore. will be a sufficient apology for its length.

### SECTION III.

#### *On the hills and rivers of Hind and Sind*

Philosophers and Geometricians have divided the land of Hind into three equal<sup>2</sup> parts, giving to each part a separate name, as appears from the book called Pátanjali. It resembles the back of a crab on the surface of the water, as is seen in the annexed plate.† The mountains and plains in these three parts of India are extensive, and occur one after the other in successive order. The mountains appear to stand near each other like the joints of the spine, and extend through the inhabited world from east to west, i. e. from the eastern extremity of China through Tibet, the country of the Turks, Cábul, Badakhshán, Tukháristán, Bámián, Khurásán, Gílán, Azarbáiján, Armenia, Rúm, to the country of the Franks and Galicia on the west. Their faces are varied, embracing between their projections plains and inhabited spots. Rivers flow at their base. Hind is surrounded on the south by the sea,‡ and on the north by the lofty mountains and

\* See Ritter, *Erdk.* IV., 2, 495, and Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.* I. 92.

† This may perhaps be translated "just as we see it at this day."

‡ The original Arabic says. "India is bounded on all other sides by lofty mountains," and after this follows a curious passage omitted from the *Jamut-t-Tawárikh*. "If you examine the country of Hind. and consider well the round stones which are found below the soil, at whatever depth you may dig, you will find that they are large near the mountains where the current of water is impetuous, and smaller as you depart from the mountains, the strength of the current being also diminished, and that they become like sand, where the water is stagnant and in the vicinity of the sea. Hence you cannot but conclude that this country was once merely a sea, and that the continent has been formed by successive increments of alluvion brought down by the rivers."

plains which contain the sources of these rivers, on the east by Chín and Máchín, and on the west by Cábul. On the north lie Cashmír, Turkistán and the mountain of Merú, which is extremely high, and stands opposite to the southern pole. The heavenly bodies perform their revolutions round it, rising and setting on each side of it. A day and a night of this place is each equal to six of our months \*

In a different direction from this hill stands another, not circular, and which is said to be composed of gold and silver. The Hímma mountains lie on the north of Kanaúj, and on account of snow and cold form the extreme point of the habitation of man. This range has Cashmír in its centre and runs by Tibet, Turk, Khazar,† and Sakália to the sea of Jurjan and Khwárazm. The northern mountains have connection with mount Merú, which lies south of them. The rivers of the entire country of Hind which flow from the northern mountains amount to eleven. Those which flow from the eastern mountains amount to the same number. Their sources are very distant, towards the farthest south-east quarter of the earth. They discharge themselves into the sea. Those, however, which rise in the extreme south do not discharge themselves into the sea.

Besides this there is another lofty ridge of mountains intervening between Turkistán and Tibet on the one side, and India on the other, which is not exceeded in height by any of the mountain chains of Hindústán. Its ascent is eighty parasangs. From its summit India looks black, and the passes and rugged declivities at its foot look like little hillocks, while Tibet and China appear red. The descent from its lowest eminence to Tibet is one parasang. This mountain is so high that Firdúsí probably meant the following verse to apply to it:—"It is so low and so high, so soft and so hard, that you can see from it the belly of a fish as well as the back of the moon."

Some other mountains are called Harmakut, in which the Ganges has its source. These are impassable, and beyond them lies Máháchín. To these mountains most of the rivers which lave the cities of India owe their origin. Besides these moun-

Strabo and Arrian have also expressed this opinion, and modern Geologists are fond of indulging in the same speculation. The very latest writer on this subject observes. "Throughout the whole plain of India, from Bengal to the bottom of the deep wells in Jesselmere, and under the mica and hornblende schist of Ajmere, the same kind of very fine hard-grained blue granite is found in round and rolled masses." *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, No cxxxviii p 140

\* Compare Strabo II 1—19 Phn. N. H VI 22 6 and Solinus 52 13

† The original has Khúz. Khazar appears correct, it is the name of a son of Noah, after whom Dasht-i-Khazar, a region of the sixth climate, is called. (*Sádík Isfahání*, p 23)

tains there are others called Kalárchal They resemble crystal balls, and are always covered with snow, like those of Damávend They can be seen from Tákas and Laháwar There are certain other mountains called Bilor, in the country of the tribe of Turks denominated Hamílán. In two days' journey you arrive at another part of Turkistán where the Bhotyas and Dyán dwell Their king is called Bhot Shah, and their cities are Gilgit, Asúrah, Salsas,\* &c, and their language is Turkí The inhabitants of Cashmír suffer greatly from their encroachments and depredations The mountains which are noticed in this version of Abú Rihán can be distinguished from each other as easily as a tortoise from the water, by attending to the enumeration above given

The stream which flows by Cábúl has its source in the mountains of the country of Cábús, and is called the Ghurrúr It passes by Birúán, Ábsaprohit, Sáká and Lamgháu, near which it combines with the Sanya Ghárah at the fort of Dirúna It then falls into the Núrúkerát, and the united rivers form a large stream opposite Persháwar† which is known as the Labarú‡ They fall into the Sind near the fort of Tankúr, a city dependent on the city of Candahar,§ which is in Hind. After that, comes

\* Gilgit retains its name to the present day, Asúrah is the same as the Astor, or Hasora, of our maps, and Salsas or Salsabí is perhaps Chelás on the Indus M Reinaud reads Schaltas

† As some interesting speculations depend upon the mode of spelling the name of this town, it may be as well to remark that all ancient authorities, even down to the historians of the sixteenth century, concur in spelling it Persháwar Hence the Chinese divide the first syllable into Poo-loo-sha, the capital of the kingdom of Purusha See the *Foe-koue-ki*, as well as the translation of *Ma-iwan-lin*, by M Rému-sat—*Now Mélanges Asiat* Tom I p 196

‡ This is perhaps meant for Al-Bára, but the entire passage is very doubtful in the original, and much has been translated conjecturally § The proper name is Gandhára, almost always converted by Muslim writers into Candahár, but we must take care not to confound it with the more noted Candahár of the west The Gandhárás on the Indus are well known to the Sanscrit writers, and there is a learned note on them in Troyer's *Raj Tarangini*, Tom II pp 316—321

It is not improbable that we have their descendants in the Ganganas of the Indus, one of the most turbulent tribes of the Hazára country The name given to them by Dionysius, in his *Periegesis*, resembles this modern name more than the Sanscrit one He says, *Διωνυσίου* *θερπιδωτες γαργυρίδαι βαλοισιν* He places them more to the east, but Salmasius and M Lassen consider that we should read *γανδαρίδαι* Herodotus calls them *γανδαριοι* The *Γορβανδís* of Nonnus, which M Troyer thinks points to the abode of the Gandhárás, is probably to be looked for elsewhere See also Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Rómen*, Vol V pp 5, 30, 107 *Asiatic Researches*, Vol XV Lassen, *De Pentap Ind* p 15—17 Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV Pt I p 453. *Brsch and Gruber's Encyc Art Indien*, p 2.

the river of Tibet, called the Jaulam The waters of the Chandra combine with it, and fifty miles below the junction, the united stream flows to the west of Múltán The Biah joins it from the east. It also receives the waters of the Iráwa (Ráví) fed by the stream of Kaj, besides that of Koh, which both flow from the hills of Bhátel \* They all combine with the Sutlej below Múltán, at a place called Panjnád, on account of the junction of the five rivers They form a very wide stream, which, at the time it attains its extreme breadth, extends ten parasangs, submerging trees of the forest, and carrying them off like so many nests of birds This stream, when it passes Alor† and enters Sind under the name of Mihrán, flows with a slower current, and forms several islands as far as Mansúra, which city it also encloses within two of its arms From this place, the river flowing by two streams empties itself into the sea, one in the neighbourhood of the city of Lahárání,‡ and the other, under the name of Sind Sággar, that is, the river of Sind, after a winding course towards the east, enters the sea on the borders of the territory of Cach In the same way as these rivers, when united, derive their name from the number five, so the seven rivers, flowing from the northern side of these same mountains, and falling above Termez into the river of Balkh, are called by the fire-worshippers of Soghd the Saba Sind, or seven Sinds.

The river Sarsut falls into the sea to the east of Súmnáth.

The Jumna falls into the Gangá, which flows to the east of Canauj After uniting they fall into the sea near Gangá Sággar The river Nermad (Nerbadda) lies between the mouths of the Sarsutí and Gangá Its source is in the eastern hills, and it has a south westerly course, till it falls into the sea near Bahrúch,§

\* There is some confusion here, which cannot be resolved by any interpretation of the original

† This is no doubt the proper reading, though it assumes various forms in different works Ibn Haukal calls it *Alrúz* The Geographia Nubiensis gives it as *Dúr* In the *Jámiu-t-Tawarikh* it resembles *Alrúz* The ruins of Alore are between Bakar and Khairpúr, on the eastern bank of the Indus

‡ This is the Larry Bunder of Major Rennell, (*Memoir*, p 285) Lahariah of M Kosegarten (*De Mohammede, Comment Acad*) and the Lohari of Dr Lee, (*Ibn Batuta*, p 102) Ibn Batuta remarks of it, "It has a large harbour into which ships from Persia, Yemen, and other places put At the distance of a few miles from this city are the ruins of another, in which stones, the shapes of men and beasts almost innumerable, are to be found The people of this place think that there was a city formerly in this place, the greater part of the inhabitants of which were so base, that God transformed them, their beasts, their herbs, even to the very seeds, into stones, and indeed stones in the shape of seeds are here almost innumerable"

§ This is spelt by various authors Barúj, Barús, Bahruj and Bahrúch It is the Baroach of the present day, the *Βαρύγχα ἐμπόριον* of Ptolemy

about sixty Yojanas to the east of Súmnáth On the other side of the Gangá, the Rahet, the Gomatí, and the Sarjú unite\* near the city of Bári The Hindús believe that the Gangá has its source in paradise, from whence it is precipitated on the earth in seven streams, the centre being denominated the Gangá The three eastern streams are the Pálan, the Ládi and Nalin The three western streams are the Sít, the Chakas and Sind † When the Sít leaves the snowy mountains it flows through the countries of Silk, Karsib, Chín, Barbar, Jír, Sankurkiet, Mankilkgor and Sakrít, and falls into the western ocean. On the south of it is the river Chakas, which flows by the countries of Damrú, Kálík, Dholak, Nijár, Barbar, Raj, Salkúbar, and Ijat The Sind has its course through the country of that name and—(here follow thirteen illegible names). The Gangá after flowing through Bargund-

and Arnan, and the Bhrigukacha of the Sanscrit authorities See Ptol *Geog Lib.* VII Cap 1, Tab 10, Mannert, *Geographie der Gr and Rom* Vol V p 127 Ritter, *Erkunde*, Vol IV Pt II p 626, Bohlen, *das alte Indien*, Vol I p 18 Lassen, *Alterthumskunde*, Vol I p 107

\* M Renaud (p 100) gives the first as Rahab A river of this name, or Rahet, is often mentioned by early Mahometan authors, and appears generally to indicate the Rámanganga The union of the Sarjú with the Gomatí, which M Renaud reads Kúhín, is a fable There is no confluence of three rivers at Bári, but not far off from it the Jammuári and the Kathení unite with the Gomatí The map of Oude which is given in the "Agra Guide," calls these rivers the Sarzen and Perhí, names which conform pretty well with the رهب and سرور of M. Renaud's manuscript

† These are evidently the Síta and Chackshu of Bhaskara Acharya Mr. Colebrooke gives us the following passage from that astronomer —

"The holy stream which escapes from the foot of Vishnu descends on mount Meru, whence it divides into four currents, and passing through the air it reaches the lakes on the summit of the mountains which sustain them Under the name of Síta this river joins the Bhadraswa; as the Alakanandá it enters Bharatavarsha, as the Chacksa it proceeds to Retumala, and as the Bhadra it goes to the Kurn of the north" *Siddhánta Sírómani*, *Bhavana Kosha*, 37 and 38 See also *Vishnu Purána*, p 171

Prof Wilson observes, "The Hindús say that the Ganges falls from heaven on the summit of Meru, and thence descends in four currents, the southern branch is the Ganges of India, the northern branch which flows into Turkey, is the Bhadrasámá, the eastern branch is the Síta, and the western is the Chakshu or Oxus" *Sanscrit Dict Art Meru* But the Ramáyana mentions seven streams, and from that work Bírúni evidently copied his statement The true Sanscrit names are almost identical with those given in the text The eastern streams are Hlādani, Pávaní and Naliní, the western are Síta, Suchakshu and Sindhu In the centre flows the Bhágíráthí The Matsya and Padma Puránas give the same account. See *Rámáyana*, Lib I XLIV 14. 16. Ed. Schlegel

hart (and four other illegible\* names), and other cities, arrives at the defiles of the hills of Band, where are many elephants, and then discharges itself into the southern ocean

Among the eastern streams is Lāwan, which flows through seven kingdoms, whose inhabitants have lips like inverted ears. Thence it flows to three other countries, of which the people are

\* For the purpose of comparison I subjoin the passage as it is given in the Calcutta and Lucnow (Lakhnau) copies. As the copyists were evidently ignorant of what they were writing, they have for the most part omitted, or guessed, the diacritical points

*The first Extract is from the Calcutta copy.*

دهرسب چون ارهممت بیرون آید بر ممالک سلک نگرد  
و کرسب و حین و بربر و حبره لنگرکلب سکرت پس در بهر  
معروف افتد و از جنوب او بهر گلش که از آن در ممالک دمرو  
و کاکل و دهولک و سحر و بربرکاج بکریونار و البجت میخورند  
اما آب سند و یعوق کند و درد درندند و کانهار روش کرور  
سوراند مرد سیاه سند کند بهیمور مرمون سکورد بهر لنگ  
بر کلدیوت راسکین بلاداد اورگان هند ناره شهر و فصاحت دیگر  
لنگ بر ایسان یگردد

*The following is from the Lucnow copy.*

دهر سند چون ارهممت بیرون آید بر ممالک سلک نگرد  
و کنوشب و حین و بربر و حبره سکرتکلت منکلت کور منکوت  
پس در بحر معروف ربرد و از جنوب او بهر جکش که آب آن در  
ممالک دمرو و کاکل و دهولک و سحر و بربرکاج ثلعمار و البجت  
میخورند اما آب سند ممالک سند را خرق کند و درد درندند  
و کانهار رورس کرور میو اندر مرد سات هند و کت بهیمور  
مرمودر سکورد و بهر کک بر عمود اوسط ممر نگردن بر کند هرب  
و اکدش برادر و اورگان و چند ناره شهرها و فصاحت دیگر کک  
بر ایسان نگردن



exceedingly black · whence it runs through other countries, and falls into the eastern sea in eight different channels

The river Máwan runs by Katah, and falls into the Barna It flows through several countries, and then arrives at a country where they drink an electuary of hemp. The Brahmins also drink it Thence it flows through Bimán, and thence falls into the sea of Jáj.

The river Makan flows through Námrán and other countries, where people have their habitations in the hills. They are called Harkaran Barabaran, that is, their ears descend to their shoulders \* Thence it runs to Asmuk,† where men's faces are like those of animals, and then falls into the sea.

The Lashan is a very large stream

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#### SECTION IV.

#### *Relating to the Countries of Hind, the Cities, some Islands, and their Inhabitants.*

It has been mentioned in the beginning of this work that the country of Hind is divided into three parts The Indians are of opinion that it is nine times larger than Irán, and is included within three Aklíms (climates) in the following manner, viz the western portion is in the third climate, and the eastern in the first, but the chief portion of Hind is included in the second climate Its central territory is called Madhyades, which means "the middle land" The Persians call it Canauj. It is called the Madhyades, because it lies between the seas and mountains, between hot and cold countries, and between the two extremities of west and east Its capital was the residence of the all-powerful and independent kings of India. Sind lies on

\* These remind us of some of the tribes enumerated in the Rámáyana, the Karna-právaranas "those who wrap themselves up in their ears," Ashtakarnakas, "the eight-eared," or, as Wilson suggests, Ashtha-Karnakas, "having lips extending to their ears" See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol XVII p 456 Robertson, *Ancient India*, p 34

† This is evidently meant for the Sanscrit word Aswamukha, the "horse-faced" They are noticed also in the Sequel of the Perplus They are the attendants of Indra and Kuvera The tales of these demi-gods and other monsters, such as the Cynocephali of Ælian and Ctesias are all derived from native originals See Ælian, *Nat Animal* IV 46. *Ctesias Operum Reliquæ*, ed Bayer, p 320. Wilson, *Notes on Ctesias*, p 36 Plin. *Histor. Nat* VII 2 Vincent, *Comm and Nav of the Ancients*, Vol II p. 524 *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VIII p 338, and Vol. IX. p. 68.

the west of this territory, and if any one wishes to come from Nímroz or Irán to this country, he will have to pass through Cábul. The city of Canauj stands on the western bank of the Ganges. It was formerly the chief city of India, but in consequence of its being deserted by its ruler, it has now fallen to ruin, and Bári, which is three days journey from it on the eastern side of the Ganges, has now succeeded as the capital. Canauj is as celebrated for being the capital of the Pándú kings, as Mathúra (Muttra) is on account of its being the abode of Básdeo, or Krishna. This city lies on the eastern bank of the Jamna, at the distance of twenty-seven farsangs from Canauj. The city of Thanesar is situated between the rivers, nearly seventy farsangs north of Canauj, and within fifty farsangs of Mathúra. The Ganges issues from a source styled Gangdwár, and waters most of the cities of India.

Those who have not personally ascertained the relative distances of the cities of Hind from each other, must be dependent on the information derived from others.

In stating these distances we will begin from Canauj. In going towards the south, between the rivers Jumna and Ganges, you arrive at a place called Jáymau,\* at a distance of 12 farsangs, each farsang being equal to four miles, 8 farsangs from that is Karwah,—from Karwah to Brahmashk, 8,—thence to Abhápúrí 8,—thence to the tree† of Prág, 12. This is at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. From the confluence to the embouchure of the Ganges, is twelve‡ farsangs. From the same confluence, in directing your course towards the south, a road leads along the bank of the river to Arak Tírat,§ which is distant 12 farsangs,—to the country of Úríhár,|| 40,—to Urda-

\* M. Reinaud reads *Haddjamava*. There can be little doubt that Jáymau, close to Kánhpúr, (Cawnpoor) is meant.

† The mention of the *tree* is important, as showing that at that time there was no city on the site of Allahábád, but merely a tree at the confluence, which is described in a subsequent passage as being of large dimensions, with two main boughs, one withered, the other flourishing, and as the Indians are represented as mounting on the tree to enable them to precipitate themselves into the Ganges, the river must have then flowed under it. The trunk of the tree still exists, and is as holy as ever, but is almost excluded from view by being enclosed in a subterraneous dwelling, called Patálpúrí, evidently of great antiquity, within the walls of the fort of Allahábád (Ilhabád).

‡ This accords with the original Arabic, but there is some unaccountable error.

§ Perhaps the island of Karan Tírat, now abbreviated into Kantit, near Mirzápúr.

|| M. Reinaud reads *Oubarhar*. Perhaps Belár is meant, though the direction is too easterly. It is to be observed, however, of Al Birúní's bearings, that they are generally much more incorrect than his distances, as may be seen by comparing the relative position of

bisk,\* on the borders of the sea, 50;—thence you go to Sam, on the shore of the sea, towards the east. The first of its provinces is Dúrt and it adjoins Jún, 40;—to Ránji, 30,—to Malea, 40;—to Núnah, 30,—which is the remotest point.

If you go from Bári to the Ganges, in an easterly direction, you come to Ajodhya, at the distance of 25 farsangs,—thence to the great Benares, 20. In taking a south-easterly course from that, you come, at the distance of 35 farsangs, to Sarwára;†—thence to Patalpúra, 20,—thence to Mungirí, 15; thence to Champa, 30,—thence Dúkanpúr, 50;—thence to the confluence at Gangá Sagar, 30.

In going from Canauj to the east you come to Málíṣ Bári, at the distance of 10 farsangs,—thence to Dúkam, 45,—thence to Silhet,‡ 10;—thence to Bhet, 12;—thence you go to Tilút,

any two places, of which the identification, is unquestionable,—as between Dhar and Ujan. He makes the former lie due east from the latter, whereas in reality it is even more than north-east. Vidarbhá, or Berár, may possibly be meant, in which case there would be no correction on account of the bearing.

\* M. Reinaud reads Ourdabysehan. Perhaps Urya Des, Odra Des, or Orissa, is meant. See Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, I. 186.

† This is very obscure. M. Reinaud translates it thus: *en suivant les bords de la mer et en se dirigeant vers l'Orient, à travers les provinces auxquelles confinent maintenant les états du roi Djour, la première de ces provinces est Dravida.*

‡ This may, perhaps, mean the country beyond Sarjú, the name by which Gorakhpúr is now locally known to the people about Benares, and hence the name of one of the most populous tribes of Brahmans. Sarwár is an abbreviation of Sarjúpár, “the other side of the Sarjú.” So Páradas is used in the Puranic lists to represent people who live *beyond* the Indus, just as *τὰ πέρα* is used in the *Periplus* of the Erythrean sea to signify the ports beyond the straits. In Ptolemy (*Camillus*, C 21,) an expression exactly equivalent occurs, *παρα τὸν ὁσάμον* “the other side of the river.”

§ This is the name by which Bári is called in this passage. As there are several other towns of the same name in the neighbourhood, this may have been a distinctive title given to the new Capital. The combination is by no means improbable, for as Bári means “a garden,” and Málí, “a gardener,” the words are frequently coupled together. The following lines, for instance, in which the two names occur in conjunction, is a common charm for the bite of a wasp—

वरर वरर तू कैयं वररानी ।

तेरा काटा चञ्च न पानी ।

तू गई माली की बारी ।

हमने यहा मारि उतारी ।

|| This may be the Silhet Sháhjehánpúr of the Gorakhpúr district, near the Gandak. In that case, Bhet would correspond with Bettiah, and Tilút with Tírúť. It can scarcely be made to apply to Bhotán, as M. Reinaud conjectures.

where the men are black, and flat-nosed like the Turks. They extend to the mountains of Merú.

From Nípál to Bhatesar\* is 30 days' journey, which implies a distance of about 80 farsangs. The road has a hundred ascents and descents. On account of the difficulty of carrying burdens on the shoulders, bridges are built in several places. The rivers in those hills are a hundred yards below the bridge. They say that in those places there are stags with four eyes, and very beautiful.

Bhatesar is the first city on the borders of Tibet. There the language, costume, and appearance of men are entirely different. Thence to the top of the highest mountain, of which we spoke at the beginning, is a distance of 20 farsangs. From the top of it Tibet looks red and Hind black.

From Canauj, in travelling south-east, you come to Jajháotí, at a distance of 30 farsangs, of which the capital is Kajráha †. In that country are the two forts, of Gwáhár and Kálinjar ‡. Thence to Dhál, of which the capital is Bitúr, under a chief called Kankyú, is 20 farsangs. Thence to Ílsúr,—thence to Bhawás, on the shore of the sea.

From Canauj, in travelling south-west, you come to Así,§ at

\* M. Reinaud reads Yhoutyseher, the same reading occurs at p. 40.

† This is no doubt the Kajwará of Ibn Batuta, "at which there is a lake about a mile in length, and round this are temples in which there are idols" (p. 162). Its real name is Kajraí, on the banks of the Ken, between Chatterpúr and Panna, said to have been founded by the great parent of the Chandel race. The Kingdom of which it is the capital, is evidently the Chi-chi-to of the Chinese travellers.

The ruined temples at Kajrára are of great antiquity and interest. They are described in the Mahoba Sama, and there said to have been built by Hamotí, upon the occasion of her having held a Banda jag, or penitential sacrifice. She had committed a little *faux pas* with the moon in human shape, and as a self-imposed punishment for her indiscretion, held a Banda jag, a part of which ceremony consists in sculpturing indecent representations on the walls of temples, and holding up one's own foibles to the disgust and ridicule of the world. Hamotí was the daughter of Hemráj, spiritual adviser to Indrají, Gaharwár Rájá of Benares. The ruins of Kajráí are now undergoing examination.

‡ There have been lately some speculations hazarded about the fort of Kálinjar not being older than A.D. 1205. Brúní's mention of its strong fort in his time makes it two hundred years older, and still leaves its origin indefinite. (See *Journal A S B* No. 188 p. 172.)

§ M. Reinaud says, without doubt this is the name of the town ordinarily written *Hasi*. If Hansí of Hariána, as it appears, is meant, it neither corresponds with the distance nor direction. The ruins of Así, or more correctly Asní, are on the banks of the Ganges. It is mentioned in the *Turikh-i Yemíní*, and is the place to which the Rájá of Canauj sent his treasure for security when he was attacked by the Ghorian General, Kutbu-d-din Aibek.

the distance of 18 farsangs,—to Sahína, 17,—to Chandra,\* 18,—to Rajaurí, 15,—to Naraya, 20 This was the capital of Guzerát, till it was destroyed, and the inhabitants removed to a new town. The distance between Naraya and Mathura is the same as between Mathura and Cananji, that is 28 farsangs

In going from Mathura to Ujain, you pass through several towns, and at no greater distance from one another than 5 farsangs. From Mathura, at the distance of 35 farsangs, you come to a large town called Dúdhí;—thence to Bafhúr, 7,—thence to Mahabhalesán, 5. This is the name of the idol of that place. Thence to Ujain 9, the idol of which place is Máhákál. Thence to Dhár, 6 farsangs.

South from Niraya lies Mewár, which has the lofty fortress of Chitore † From the fortress to Dhár, the capital of Málwá, 20. Ujain is to the east of Dhár, at the distance of 9 farsangs From Ujain to Mahabhalesán, ‡ which is in Málwá, 10. From Dhár, going south, you come to Mahrmahra, § at the distance of 20 farsangs,—thence to Kundkí, 20;—thence to Namáwar on the banks of the Nerbadda, 10,—thence to Biswar, 20,—thence to Mundgir, ¶ on the banks of the Godavery, 60 farsangs.

From Dhár to the river (Nerbadda), 9,—thence to the country of the Mahrattas, 18;—thence to Konkan, of which the capital is Tána, on the sea shore, 25 farsangs.

\* This is evidently meant for Chanderí

† This would appear to be the correct reading M. Remand translates: "Mycar est le nom d'un royaume où se trouve la forteresse de Djatraour."

‡ Perhaps Bhilsa is alluded to. There are many ruins in its neighbourhood well worth examination, as at Udegur, Sacheb, Káneh Kherí, and Piplea Bjolí There are other places on the upper Betwa where extensive ruins are to be seen, as Eban, Udípúr, Pathárá, anciently called Birnagar, Gheárispúr and Bhojpúr These are all likely to be examined, now that such a zealous enquirer as Capt J Cunningham is in that country

§ This may have some connection with the Matmayurpúr, or Mattinagar, of the inscription found at Rannode, in which a prince is represented as "repopulating this long desolate city." *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, No 183, p 1086

¶ Gildemeister says of this place, "urbs prorsus incognita." (*Des reb Ind* p 44.) It has been supposed to be Munghir It is not improbable that Múngí Patan may be meant, the capital of the famous Sahrahana, and the Mankur of the Arabians, which is described as the capital of the Ballahra. Masáúdí says, his dominions were chiefly mountainous, and that they were eighty Smídi farsangs, of eight miles each, from the sea. The Arab travellers of Renaudot say he was the most mighty potentate of India, that his dominions began at Konkan and extended to the confines of Chma; that he was constantly at war with his neighbours, one of whom is the King of Haraz, by which probably Orissa is meant.

Edrisí tells us that the capital of the Ballahra was in his time Nahr-rála

(Here follows the description of the Rhinoceros and Sarabha, which agrees with the original Arabic, and need not be translated in this place. The Rhinoceros is called Karkadan in the original, and appears to be the same as the *καρτάδωνον* of Ælian, *Hist An XVI* 20, 21)

From Niraya, in a south-west direction, lies Anhalwára, at a distance of 60 farsangs,—thence to Súmnát, on the sea, 50. From Anhalwára, towards the south, to Lárdes,\* of which the capitals are Bahrúj and Dhanjúr, 42. These are on the shore of the sea, to the east of Tána

West from Niraya† is Múltán, at the distance of 50 farsangs,—thence to Bhátí, 15 South-west from Bhátí is Arúr, at a distance of 15 farsangs This city is situated between two arms of the Indus Thence to Bahmanwás Mansúra, 20,—thence to Loharání, the embouchure of the river, 30 farsangs

From Canauy, going north, and turning a little to the west, you come to Sirsáwab, 50 farsangs Thence to Pinjore That place is on a lofty hill,‡ and opposite to it, in the plains, is the

Possibly Mankír may be the Minnagara of Ptolemy, but the position of that town must have been too far west to answer to the capital of the Ballabra Ibn Al Wáridi speaks of it as if it was extant when he wrote See a note below, on the position of Minnagara

\* See Lassen, *Zeitschrift, f d K d Morgenl* I 227

† This is the nearest resemblance to the Jámin-t-Tawárikh M Renaud reads it Bazána. It is one of the most interesting places in the North Western Provinces to identify in the pages of Birúni, on account of its being so frequently mentioned as a terminus of the Itineraries It appears to be Narwar, notwithstanding that the Niraya which occurs first in the Extract must evidently be Anhalwára, the capital of Guzerát In this passage, he states Niraya to be "the capital of Guzerát, which our countrymen," he adds, "call Narayana." M Renaud says that the manuscript in some places should be read Narana, not Bazana Birúni makes this Bazána to be 88 parasangs south-west from Canauy, which approximates to the real distance of about 550 miles It is reached through the Así mentioned above, 18 parasangs,—then Sahína, 17 parasangs,—then Chanderí, 18 parasangs,—then Rajaurí (probably Rájwára or Rájgarh) 15 parasangs,—then Bazána, the capital of Guzerát, 20 parasangs

If we omit this Bazána, we shall find that, whenever it is again mentioned, Narwar satisfies all the requisite conditions The distance between Mathura and Bazána is the same distance as Mathura from Canauy—so is Narwar It is 25 parasangs from Mycar (Mewar),—so is Narwar In a south-west direction to Anhalwára it is 60 parasangs—so is Narwar Here it is made quite a different place from the capital of Guzerát It is 50 parasangs west of Múltán If we take the town of Múltán, the distance is too short, but if the borders of the kingdom of Múltán are meant, it will answer very well, and would also fix Bhátí to be the same as Bhatnúr, which has some probability in its favor.

‡ This is not correct with reference to modern Pinjore, which is in a valley on the southern side of the Hills

city Thanesar,—thence to Dahmála,<sup>+</sup> the capital of Jálándhar, and at the base of a mountain, 18, thence to Láwar, 10,—thence, towards the west, to Sudda, 13,—thence to the fort of Rájgarhí, 8,—thence, towards the north, to Cášhmír, 25 farsangs

From Cananj, towards the west, to Dyamau, is 10 farsangs,—thence to Gahí,<sup>†</sup> 10,—thence to Ahár, 10,—thence to Mirat, 10,—thence, across the Jumna, to Pánípat, 10,—thence to Kaithal, 10,—thence to Sonám, 10

In going north-west from the latter place to Arthúr, 9 farsangs,—thence to Haynír, 6,—thence to Mandhúkúr, the capital of Loháwar, on the east of the river Iráwa, 8,—thence to the river Chandraha (Chenab,) 12,—thence to Jailam, on the western bank of the Behat, 18,—thence to Warhand, capital of Candahár, west of the Sind, which the Moghuls call Kárájang, 20, thence to Persháwar, 14,—thence to Dinúr, 15,—thence to Cábúl, 12,—thence to Ghaznín, 17.

Cášhmír<sup>‡</sup> is a valley surrounded by lofty inaccessible hills and broad deserts, on the east and south it is bordered by Hind,—on the west by kings, of whom the nearest are Bilor Sháh, Shaknán Sháh, and Dúkhán Sháh, extending to the frontiers of Badakhshán, on the north, and partly on the east, by the Turks of Chín and Tibet

From the mountain of Yutíshar to Cášhmír, across the country of Tibet, is nearly 300 farsangs The people of Cášhmír do not ride on quadrupeds, but are carried on men's shoulders in a Katút, which resembles a throne. The servants of the Government are always on the alert, and watch the entrances and passes of the country They do not allow strangers to enter the country, except by ones and twos. This prohibition extends even to Jews and Hindús, how then can any one else gain admittance? The principal entrance is at Barbhán, half way between the Sind and Jailam From that place to the bridge, which is constructed at the confluence of the Kosarí and Mamherí, flowing from the

\* This is doubtless Dehmári, which, as we learn from several historians, was the ancient name of Núrpúr, before it was changed by Jehángír, in honor of Núr Jehán Begam Núrpúr is beyond the Beás, but that would not affect the identification, for the author says merely Jálándhar, not the Doáb, or Interamnia, of Jálándhar

† The Arabic has Gatí—Perhaps Ráj Ghát may be meant All the other places mentioned in this paragraph are extant to this day.

‡ Mention of Cášhmír occurs in another part of the work, which contains little that is not noticed here The author adds that in Cášhmír there is a city called Dárabarha, in which there are 3,600,000 inhabitants, and that it was built 2,000 years ago That the valley was formerly twelve hundred years under water, when, at the entreaties of Casip, the waters found their way to the sea, and the valley became habitable.

mountains of Sílák, with the Jailam, is 8 farsangs. Thence you arrive, at a distance of five days' journey, at a defile through which the Jailam runs.

At the end of the defile lies Dwáruḷ Marsad, on both sides of the river. There the Jailam, dividing into two streams, enters the plains, and after two days' journey, unites again and reaches Adushán,\* the capital of Cáshmir. The city of Cáshmir is four farsangs from Adushán. It is built on the banks of the Jailam, on which there are several bridges and boats. The source of the Jailam is the mountain of Harmakat,† which is also the source of the Ganges. This mountain is impassable on account of the exceeding cold, for the snow never melts. On the other side of it lies Máhá Chín,<sup>1</sup> e, great Chin. After the Jailam has left the mountains, it reaches Adushán in two days. Four farsangs from that, it reaches a lake, a farsang square, on the borders of which there is much cultivation, and a dense population. It then leaves the lake, and enters another defile near the city of Ushkar.

The Sind rises in the mountains of Ūmah, on the borders of the Turkish country. Passing by the mountains of Bilúr and Hamílán, it reaches in two days' journey the country of the Bhoṭyáwári Turks, from whose encroachments the Cáshmírís suffer great distress. Whoever travels along the left bank of the river will find villages and towns close to one another as far as the mountain Lárjík, which resembles Damávend, between which and Cáshmir there is a distance of two farsangs. It can always be seen from the boundary of Cáshmir and Laháwar. The fort of Rájgarhí is to the south of it, and Lohúr, than which there is no stronger fort, is to the west. At a distance of 3 farsangs is Rájáwarí, where merchants carry on much traffic, and it forms one of the boundaries of Hind on the north. On the hills to the west of it is the tribe of Afghans, who extend to the land of Sind.

On the south of that tribe is the sea, on the shore of which the first city is Tez, the capital of Mekrán. The coast trends to the south-east, till it reaches Daibal, at the distance of forty farsangs. Between these two cities lies the gulf of Túrán.

\* \* \* \* \*

After traversing the gulph you come to the small and big mouths of the Indus, then to the Bawárij, who are pirates, and are so called because they commit their depredations in boats called Barah. Their cities are Kach and Súmnát. From Dai-

\* M. Reinaud reads Addashtan, and Capt A. Cunningham identifies it with Pandritan, the local corrupt form of Puránadhīsthana, the "old chief city." *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* No. CLXXXVII p. 97.

† M. Reinaud has Hazmakout. Har Makut, meaning the cap of Har, or Mahá Deo, is a better reading. Perhaps Hemakúta is the correct one. See Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, p. 168.



bal to Talishar is 50 farsangs,—from Lahrání, 12,—to Bahar, 12;—to Kach, the country producing gum, and Bárdrúd (river Bhader,) 6,—to Súmnát, 14,—to Cambaya, 30;—to Asáwal, 2;—to Bahrúj, 30;—to Sindán,<sup>\*</sup> 50;—to Súfára, 6;—to Tána, 5. There you enter the country of Lárán, where is Saimúr,<sup>†</sup> then Maleah,—then Kanjí—then Darúd, where there is a great gulph in which is the island of Sarandíp or Sankaldíp. In its neighbourhood is Tanjáwar, which is in ruins, and the king of that country has built another city near the shore, called Diárbas,—then to Umalna,—then to Rameshar, opposite to Sarandíp, from which it is distant 12 farsangs. From Tanjáwar to Rameshar is 40 farsangs,—from Rameshar to Set Bandhái, which means the bridge of the sea, is 2 farsangs—and that Band, or embankment, was made by Rám, son of Dasrath, as a passage to the fort of Lanká. It consists of detached rocks separated by the sea.

From that place, in an eastern direction, lies Khankand, which is the mountain of monkeys <sup>‡</sup>

\*   \*   \*   \*   \*   \*

(Here follows an account of these monkeys, of some of the eastern islands, and of the rainy season.)

\*   \*   \*   \*

Múltán<sup>§</sup> and Uch are subject to Dehli, and the son of the Súltán of Dehli is the governor. There is a road by land as well as by the shore of the sea and by Guzerát, which is a large country, within which are Cambaya, Súmnát, Kankan, Tána and several other cities and towns. It is said that Guzerát comprises 80,000 different districts, cities, villages, and hamlets. The inhabitants are rich and happy, and during the four seasons no less than seventy flowers blow in this country. The crops which grow in the cold season derive their vigour from the dew. When that dries, the hot season commences, and that is succeeded by the rainy season. Grapes are produced twice during the year, and the strength of the soil is such, that if you were to place a cotton plant on a plane-tree it would throw out its roots, and

\* See Gildemeister, *De reb Ind* p. 46

† The original bears more resemblance to Jamúr, but Saimúr appears to be the place intended. It is noticed by Masafdí. Ibn Haukal says, it is about 15 parasangs from Sarandíp. Zakariya Cazzwini says, it is an Indian city near Sind, where Moslems, Christians, Jews and Fire-worshippers, reside. Bakouí tells us.—“There is here a temple called Bert Saimúr, on the summit of a hill, in which is an idol made of precious stones. There are also mosques, churches, and fire-temples in this place. The Indians eat neither the animals of the land nor of the sea.” *Notices et Esq.* Tom. II. p. 414

‡ This appears to be the Kanhar of Dr. Lee, and its description as being a mountain of monkeys shows that his conjectures about the estuary of Búzúta is correct. *Ibn Batúta*, p. 187.

§ Rashidu-d-Din here evidently leaves Abú Rihán, and writes from information obtained independently

yield produce ten years running \* The people are idolaters, and have a king of their own Súmnát, which is the name of the idol of that place, is worshipped by all the people of those parts, and strangers come to it from a great distance and present their offerings During the last stage they move along the ground on their breasts, and approach the idol bowing their heads There is a great deal of traffic on the shores of Guzerát Beyond Guzerát are Kankan and Tána, beyond them the country of Malí-bár, which from the boundary of Karoha to Kulam,† is 300 far-sangs in length The whole country produces the pán, in consequence of which Indians find it easy to live there, for they are ready to spend their whole wealth upon that leaf There is much coined gold and silver there, which is not exported to any other country Part of the territory is inland, and part on the sea shore They speak a mixed language, like the men of Khabálik, in the direction of Rúm, whom they resemble in many respects The people are all Samanís (Buddhists) The first city on the shore is Sindapúr—then Fágúr—then Manjarúr‡—then the country of Hili—then the country of Tadarsá—then Janglí—then Kúlam. The men of all these countries are Samanís After these comes the country of Sawálak, which comprises 125,000 cities and villages After that comes Málwá, which means 1,000,000, and 893,000 villages have actually been counted in it About forty years ago the king of Málwá died, and between his son and the minister a contest arose, and after several battles they ended with dividing the territory between them The consequence is that their enemies obtained a footing, and are always making their incursions from different parts of Hind, and carrying off merchandise, crops, and captives §

\* Ibn Batúta uses a similar image to express the fertility of Molúk "It is an island exceedingly rich in vegetation and soil, so that when you cut a branch from any of its trees, and plant it either on the road or on a wall, it will grow, throw out leaves, and become a tree" p 182

† "We next came into the country of Malabái, which is the country of black pepper Its length is a journey of two months along the shore from the island of Sindábár to Kulam The whole of the way by land lies under the shade of trees, and at the distance of every half mile there is a house made of wood, in which there are chambers fitted up for the reception of comers and goers, whether they be moslems or infidels" *Ibn Batuta*, p 166

‡ Dr Lee reads these, Kákanwar and Manjarun For Janglí he appears to read Jurhaunan (*Ibn Batuta*, p 170) Manjarúr is the Mangalore of the present day and the Μαγγαρον of Cosmas Indicopleustes (*Topograph Chr* p 337) Casiri quotes a manuscript in which it is called Mangalore as early as the beginning of the seventh century See *Biblioth Escorial* Tom II p 6.

§ It is difficult to say what countries are here meant, but it is probable that allusion is made to the Laccadives and Maldives, the names

Maabar, from Kúlam to the country of Siláwar, extends 300 farsangs along the shore. Its length is the same. It possesses many cities and villages, of which little is known. The king is called Dewar,\* which means in the Maabar language, the "lord of wealth." Large ships called Junks bring merchandise from Chín and Máchín. The country produces rubies and aromatic grasses, and in the sea are plenty of pearls. Maabar is, as it were, the key of Hind. Within the few last years Sindar Ledí was Dewar, who, with his three brothers, obtained power in different directions, and Malik Takí Ullah bin Abdu-r-rahmán bin Muhammed et-Tibí, brother of Shaikh Jamálu-d-dín, was his minister and adviser, to whom he assigned the government of Fatan, Malí Fatan, and Báwal—and because there are no horses in Maabar, or rather those which are there are weak, it was agreed that every year Jamálu-d-dín Ibráhim should send to the Dewar 1400 Arab horses obtained from the island of Kais, and 10,000 horses from all the islands of Fars, such as Katíf, Lahsa, Bahrein, Harmuz, Malkát, &c. Each horse is reckoned worth 220 dinárs of red gold current.

\* \* \* \* \*

In the year 692 H the Dewar died, and Sheikh Jamálu-d-dín who succeeded him, obtained, it is said, an accession of 7,000 bullock-loads of jewels and gold, and Takíu-d-dín, according to previous agreement, became his Lieutenant. Notwithstanding his immense wealth, he established a rule that he should have the first option of purchasing all imports, and after he had gratified his own choice he allowed his subjects to purchase, in order that they might export the goods on boats or beasts of burden to the countries of the east and west, whence they might bring back merchandise suitable to Maabar.

The people of the country are very black by reason of their being near the equator. There is a large temple called Lútar.

\* \* \* \* \*

There are two courses, or roads, from this place,—one leads to Chín and Máchín. Sarandíp is first met with. It is four farsangs long and four wide.

Sarandíp is at the foot of the southern† mountain, and is called in the language of Hind Sankala-díp, i. e. the sleeping-place of the lion, because its appearance is like a lion in repose,‡ and as that etymology is not known to the common people, they call it Sarandíp. The whole of the country is exactly under the Line. Emeralds and other precious stones are found there

being derived from numerals, and in both instances bearing a relation to these islands.

\* Abú-l-fedá gives it as Bórdawal.

† It is Júdí in the original, not Janúbí. The former can scarcely be meant, the latter may

‡ Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.* I 201.

In the forests there are wolves and elephants, and even the Rukh is said to be there. The men are all Buddhists, and bow to, and worship images.

The island of Lámúrí,\* which lies beyond it, is very large. It has a separate king.

Beyond it lies the country of Súmátra,† and beyond that Darband Nias,‡ which is a dependency of Jáwa. In Jáwa scented woods grow. In those islands are several cities, of which the chief are Arú, Parlak, Dalmián, Jáwa, and Barcúdoz.§ The mountains of Jáwa are very high. It is the custom of the people to puncture their hands and entire body with needles, and then rub in some black substance to colour it.

Opposite Lámúrí is the island of Lábhwár,|| which produces plenty of red amber. Men and women go naked, except that the latter cover the pudenda with cocoanut leaves. They are all subject to the Kaan.

Passing on from this you come to a continent called Jampa, also subject to the Kaan. The people are red and white.

Beyond that is Hautam, subject also to the Kaan.

\* According to the Shihyat Malayu and Marco Polo, Lambri is one of the districts of Súmátra, situated on the north-east coast—converted by the Arabs into Ramry. M. Gildemeister considers it to be the same as Ramnad (*Script Ar d re Ind* p. 59). M. Reinaud considers it to be Manar (*Fragments*, p. 123), M. Dulaurier gives several reasons why it can be no where else than in Súmátra (*Jour Asiatique*, 4th Ser. T. VIII 187, 200). It may be presumed that the Lámúrí of our author is the same place as is indicated by Lambri and Ramry. There is at the present day a large island, called Ramry, off the coast of Arracan, but that cannot well be the place indicated.

† This is distinctly called a country (vilayat). It is usually said that mediæval writers called the island of Súmátra by the name of Jáwa, and that Súmátra was one of its towns. Java itself was called Múl Java. See *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Series, Tom. IX pp. 119, 124, 244.

‡ This may be Pulu Nias, which M. M. Maurv and Dulaurier, from independent observation, conceive to be the Al-Neyan of the early Geographers. See *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Ser. Tom. VIII 200, and *Bulletin de la société de Geog.* April, 1846.

§ These cities, it will be observed, are not confined to one island. Parlak is no doubt Tanjung Parlak, or Diamond Point, on the north-east coast of Súmátra. Barcúdoz, without any violent metathesis, may perhaps be read Bencoolen—the Wau-Kou-Leou of the Chinese (*Nour J d XI* 54). Towards Papua is a large island called Aru, but that is no doubt too distant for our author. His city may be the metropolis of Java according to Ptolemy—*ἔχει τε μετρόπολιν ὀνομαζομένην Ἄρρη*—*ἔστι τοῖς δυσμικοῖς πέρας*. *Geog.* VII 2 29.

|| As this might easily be read Nicobar, allusion may be made to the islands of that name. The early Arabian Geographers and Edrisi seem to designate this group by the term Lanyabalús.

Beyond that is Máhá Chín,\* then the land of Zautún,† on the shore of the China sea, and an officer of the Kaan, entitled Shak, resides there. Beyond that is Khinsa, in which the market place is six farsangs broad—from which it may be judged how large the place is. It is subject to the deputies of the Kaan, who are Moghuls, Musulmáns, Khitayans and Ghúz. Khinsa‡ is the capital.

Forty days' journey from it lies Khánbáligh,§ the capital of Anká Múghrib Kaan, King of the earth ||

With respect to the other road which leads from Maabar by way of Khitái, it commences at the city of Cábal, then proceeds to the city of Gosjú and Sabjú, dependencies of Cábal,—then to Tamli Fatan,—then to Karora Mawár,—then to Hawárawún, then to Daklí,—then to Byalár, which from of old is subject to Dehli, and at this time one of the cousins of the Sultán of Dehli has conquered it, and established himself, having revolted against the Sultán. His army consists of Turks. Beyond that is the country of Katban—then Uman,—then Zardandán,¶ so called because the people have gold in their teeth. They puncture their hands, and colour them with indigo. They eradicate their beards, so that they have not a sign of hair on their faces. They are all subject to the Kaan. Thence you arrive at the borders of Tibet, where they eat raw meat and worship images, and have no shame respecting their wives. The air is so impure that if they eat their dinner after noon they would all die. They boil tea and eat winnowed barley.

\* Edrisí calls this Simatu-s-Sín, situated at the extremity of the empire. "No city is equal to it, whether we consider its greatness, the number of the edifices, the importance of its commerce, the variety of its merchandize, or the number of merchants which visit it from different parts of India." Ibn al Wardi says, "It is the extreme eastern part which is inhabited, and beyond which there is nothing but the ocean."

† A port in the province of Fo-Kem. See Marsden's *Marco Polo*, p. 561. M. Klaproth, *Mém. rel. à l'Asie* Tom II p. 208, and M. Reinaud, *Relation des voyages*, Tom II pp. 25, 26.

‡ The original is Jangsai in both places, but there can be no doubt the correct word is Khinsa, which Ibn Batuta declares to be the largest city he had seen. Marco Polo calls it Qumsai, and says it is without exception the most noble city in the world. It was the capital of southern China, or Maha Chin. Its present name is Hang-tcheou-fou, capital of the province of Tche-Kiang. See M. Reinand, *Relation des voyages*, Tom I pp. cx, cxviii and M. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, pp. lxxvii, lxxxix.

§ The Cambalu of Marco Polo, and the Pekin of the Chinese. See Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* Tom III p. 2 p. 512.

|| See *Les Oisqaux et les Fleurs*, pp. 119, 220. Dabistán, v. III p. 250.

¶ This country is again noticed in our author's account of China, and Marco Polo speaks of it under the wrong name, Cardandon. M. Quatremère tries to fix its position. *Hist. des Mongols*, p. xcvi.

There is another country called Deogir, adjoining Maabar inland, the king of which is at constant enmity with the Dewar of Maabar Its capital is Dwára Samudra

Another large country is called Candahár, which the Moghuls call Karájáng In the time of Kubilá Kaan,\* it was subdued by the Moghuls One of its borders adjoins Tibet, another adjoins Khitá, and another adjoins Hind.

Philosophers have said that there are three countries celebrated for certain peculiarities, Hind is celebrated for its armies, Candahár for its elephants, and the Turks for their wealth in horses.



The Volume from which these extracts are taken opens with these words:—

سپاس و ستایش حدای را جل جلاله و تقدست اسماء که  
موصوف است دات اودقا و قدم و منره است صفات او ار  
نقص حدوث و عدم موجد حانه که سقف و عرش آن اولاك  
است و صانع ایوانی که فرش آن ساط حاك انخد اوددی  
که بدست و هست و پست و پست اینجا و وضع و درت اوست

and closes thus:—

انچه در بطلان مذهب اهل تناسخ در خاطر آمد سبب حکایت  
که درو ایران افتاده مطول کشته است هر چند هیچ یک ار مواید  
و عواید حالی بدست اسأ الله پسندیده حق تعالی باشد  
و بینندگان تررل و سهو و خلل و خطا که رفته عفو و معرفت  
کرامت کند بمن الله واسعه جوده و کرمه

\* This is also mentioned in the Mongul work called Bodimer See Pallas, *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten*, T I p 19

The country of Karájáng and its borders are again noticed by our author in his account of China, and its position is laid down by M. Quatremère, *Hist des Mongols*, p xciv.

At p 40 this name, differently accented, is ascribed to the Sind, in conformity with the original, but from this passage it is evident that Candahár, not the Sind, was called Karájáng

## NOTE A

*India, as known to the Arabs during the first four Centuries of the Hyrri Era*

The first extracts are taken from the *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*, translated from the Arabic by M Renaudot, A. D 1718. The Jesuits endeavoured to throw discredit upon this work, and declared that it was a fiction of the translator. This assertion gained considerable credit, when it was ascertained that the original manuscript, from which M Renaudot was said to have translated his work, was nowhere to be found. It was at last fortunately discovered by M. de Guignes, who has bestowed an article upon it in the *Notices et Extracts*, Tom I. 156—161. See also *Mém: de l'Acad: des Inscriptions*, Tom. XXXVII. 477.

An edition of the Arabic and a new French translation was given by M Langlés in the beginning of the present century, but his translation is little known. In 1845, M. Reinaud published the Arabic text of M Langlés, with a new translation and valuable notes. He tells us that the first part of the work comprises the statement of a voyager named Sulaimán, whose "relations" were taken down A D 851, and that the second part was completed

towards the close of the century by Abú Zaid, of Siráf, from verbal information and from reading, and that he had communication with Mas'údí, whom M Quatremère at one time considered to be the Editor of these Relations (See *Asiatic Journal*, Vol XXXIII p 234; *Journal Asiatique*, 4th series, Tom VIII p 161, and M Renaud, *Discours préliminaire*, pp II —XXVIII)

*Some particulars relating to the Indies and to the  
kings of the same countries*

Both the Indians and Chinese agree, that there are four great or principal kings in the world, they allow the king of the Arabs to be the first, and to be, without dispute, the most powerful of kings, the most wealthy, and the most excellent every way, because he is the prince and head of a great religion, and because no other surpasses him in greatness or power

The emperor of China reckons himself next after the king of the Arabs, and after him the king of the Greeks, and lastly, the Balhara

\* \* \* \* \*

He is surrounded by the dominions of many kings, who are at war with him, and yet he never marches against them One of these is king of Haraz, who has very numerous forces, and is stronger in horse than all the other princes of the Indies, but is an enemy to the Arabs, though he at the same time confesses their king to be the greatest of kings, nor is there a prince in the Indies who has a greater aversion to Muhammedanism His dominions are upon a promontory, where are much riches, many camels, and other cattle The inhabitants here traffic with silver they wash for, and they say there are mines of the same on the continent There is no talk of robbers in this country, no more than in the rest of the Indies

On one side of this kingdom lies that of Tafek, which is not of very great extent, this king has the finest white women in all the Indies, but he is subject to the kings about him, his army being but small He has a great affection for the Arabs, as well as the Balhara.

These kingdoms border upon the lands of a king called Rahmí, who is at war with the king of Haraz, and with the Balhara also This prince is not much considered either for his birth or the antiquity of his kingdom, but his forces are more numerous than those of the Balhara and even than those of the kings of



Haraz and Tafek. They say that when he takes the field, he appears at the head of fifty thousand elephants; and that he commonly marches in the winter season, because the elephants not being able to bear with thirst, he can move at no other time. They say also that in his army there are commonly from ten to fifteen thousand tents. In this same country they make cotton garments, in so extraordinary a manner, that no where else are like to be seen. These garments are for the most part round, and wove to that degree of fineness, that they may be drawn through a ring of a middling size.

Shells are current in this country, and serve for small money, notwithstanding that they have gold and silver, wood-aloes and sable-skins of which they make the furniture of saddles and housings. In this same country is the famous Karkandan unicorn, which has but one horn upon its forehead, and thereon a round spot with the representation of a man. The whole horn is black, except the spot in the middle, which is white. The unicorn is much smaller than the elephant; from the neck downwards he pretty much resembles the buffalo; for strength he is extraordinary, therein surpassing all other creatures; his hoof is not cloven, and from his foot to his shoulder he is all of a piece. The elephant flies from the unicorn, whose loving is like that of an ox, with something of the cry of a camel. His flesh is not forbidden, and we have eaten of it. There are great numbers of this creature in the fens of this kingdom, as also in all the other provinces of the Indies; but the horns of these are the most esteemed, and upon them are generally seen the figures of men, peacocks, fishes and other resemblances. The Chinese adorn their girdles with these sorts of figures; so that some of these girdles are worth two or three thousand pieces of gold in China, and sometimes more, the price augmenting with the beauty of the figure. All the things we have here enumerated, are to be purchased in the kingdom of Rahmi for shells, which are the current money.

After this kingdom there is another which is an inland state, distant from the coast, and called Keschöin. The inhabitants are white, and bore their ears: they have camels, and their country is a desert, and full of mountains.

Farther on, upon the coast, there is a small kingdom called Hitrange, which is very poor, but it has a bay, where the sea throws up great lumps of ambergris. They have also elephants' teeth and pepper; but the inhabitants eat it green, because of the smallness of the quantity they gather.

\* \* \* \*

The island of Sarandip is the last of the islands of the Indies. When they burn a king it is usual for his wives to jump into the fire, and to burn with him, but this they are not constrained to do if they are not willing.

In the Indies there are men who profess to live in the woods and mountains, and to despise what other men most value. These abstain from every thing but such wild herbs and fruits as spring forth in the woods. I formerly saw one in the posture I have described, and returning to the Indies about sixteen years afterwards, I found him in the very same attitude, and was astonished he had not lost his eyesight by the heat of the sun.

In all these kingdoms the sovereign power resides in the royal family, and never departs from it, and those of this family succeed each other. In like manner there are families of learned men, of physicians, and of all the artificers concerned in architecture, and none of these ever mix with a family of a profession different from their own.

The several states of the Indies are not subject to one and the same king, but each province has its own king, nevertheless the Balhara is, in the Indies, as king of kings

\* \* \* \*

We will now begin to speak of the province of Zapage, which is opposite to China, and a month's sail distant therefrom by sea, or less, if the wind be fair. The king of this country is called Mehrage, and they say it is nine hundred leagues in circumference, and that this king is master of many islands which lie round about, thus this kingdom is above a thousand leagues in extent. Among these islands there is one called Serbeza, which is said to be four hundred leagues in circuit, and that also of Rahmi, which is eight hundred leagues in compass, and produces red-wood, camphire, and many other commodities. The Mehrage is sovereign over all these islands, and that which he makes his abode is extremely fertile, and so very populous that the towns almost crowd one upon the other. A person of great probability relates, that when the cocks here crow at their accustomed hours, just as with us, at roost upon trees, they answer each other a hundred leagues around and more, because of the proximity of the villages which almost touch each other.

\* \* \* \*



Next in order is Ibn Khordádbeh, who died about A. D. 912, and from whose work the following extract is translated. M. M. Uyl-enbroeck, Hamaker, and Wustenfeld consider that Ibn Khordádbeh, is the real author of the "Oriental Geography," translated by Sir W. Ouseley, and ascribed by him to

Ibn Haukal, but the extract given below does not correspond with the "Oriental Geography." M. Uylenbroeck has also entered into a long argument to prove that Ibn Khordádbeh is the same as Abú-l-Kásim Istakhrí, who composed his work between A. D. 900 and 925. But this opinion is by no means concurred in by M. M. Frahn and Gildemeister. It is probable that this doubtful point has been finally set at rest by the Editor of Istakhrí's work, which has lately been translated by Dr. Mordtmann, as well as edited in original by Dr. Moller, neither of which I have had an opportunity of seeing. M. Gildemeister considers there can be no question that Istakhrí was the author of the work translated by Ouseley, but denies his identity with Ibn Khordádbeh. (Compare De Sacy, *Magas: Encyclopéd: Tom. VI. Wustefeld, Abulfeda, Tab: Geogr* p. 75. Uylenbroeck, *Iracæ Persicæ Descr: pp. 9, 57—63, 72* Frahn, *Ibn Foslan ueber die Russen*, pp. xxii. 257. Gildemeister, *Script: Arab. de reb: Indic: pp. 76, 124. Jahresbericht der Deutschen Morgenland: Ges: für 1846, p. 78.* Nicoll and Pusey, *Bibliothe: Bodl: Codd: MSS. Or: Catal: p. 534* )

The kings and people of Hind regard fornication as lawful and wine as unlawful. This opinion prevails throughout Hind, except at Kamár, the inhabitants of which hold both fornication and the use of wine as unlawful. The people of Sarandíp convey wine from Irák for consumption in their own country.

The kings of Hind take great delight in having elephants of lofty stature, and pay largely for them in gold. The elephants are, generally, about 9 cubits high, except those of Átab, which are 10 and 11 cubits.

The greatest king of India is Balliará, whose name imports "king of kings" He wears a ring in which is inscribed the following sentence "Whoever values you merely for your good offices, remains no longer your friend when his wishes are gratified"

The next eminent king is he of Taffa, the third is king of Jábbá, the fourth, that of Hazar, the coins of Tartary are in use in his dominions The fifth is king of Abba, the sixth, that of Rahmí, and between him and the other kings, a communication is kept up by sea It is stated that he has in his possession five thousand elephants, that his apparel is of manufactured cotton cloths, and that his country produces an odoriferous wood called "Aggar" The seventh is the king of Kamrún, which is contiguous to China There is plenty of gold in this country

There is a road through the city of Karkúz, leading to the eastern countries from Persia

The island of Khárák lies fifty parasangs from Ibla, and has cultivated lands, trees, and vines The island of Lábin is at the distance of eighty parasangs from that of Khárák, and has cultivated lands and trees This parasang is equal to two parasangs of the usual measure From Lábin to the island of Abrún are seven parasangs, it has trees and cultivated fields, and from Abrún to the island of Chín, are seven parasangs, equal to one half of the usual measure This island is uninhabited From Chín to the island of Kasír are seven parasangs, equal to four common parasangs In this island are cultivated lands, trees and the like, and the inhabitants dive for pearls, which are here of excellent quality From Kasír to Abarkáwán are eighteen parasangs, equal to three of the usual measure The inhabitants are of a fair complexion From Abarkáwán to Armún are seven parasangs From Armún to Nármasaira is seven days' journey, and the latter lies between Persia and Sind From Nármasaira to Daibal is eight days' journey, and from Daibal to the junction of the river Mihrán with the sea is two parasangs

From Sind are brought the costus, canes, and bamboos From the Mihrán to Bagar, which is reckoned the first place on the borders of Hind, is four days' journey The country abounds with canes in the hilly tracts, but in the plains there are cultivated fields The people are Buddhists and robbers From this place to Almez are two parasangs, where also robbers are to be met with From Almez to Cole\* are two parasangs, and from

\* This is the first indication we have of the Coles in this neighbourhood, if we except the *Κωλις* of Dionysius (*Perieg* 1148) which must be looked for in another direction The *Geographia Nubiensis* also notices this place — "Ab hac ad insulam Mond sex millia passuum et ab hac ad Coli passus totidem et a Coli, secus litus, ad urbem Labára, quinque fere stationes" p 60

Cole to Sindan are eighteen parasangs. In the latter grow the ebony and canes. From Sindan to Mallay, is five days' journey; in the latter black pepper is to be found, also the bamboo. From Mallay to Balbun, is two days' journey, and from Balbun to Lujja Azima, is two days' journey. There are routes by sea from Balbun. If you sail close to the shore it takes you two days to reach Bās, which is a large place where you can take passage to Sarandip. From Bās to Saji and Uscán, is two days' journey, in which latter place rice is cultivated. From Uscán to Kaura is half a parasang, which is more than three of the usual size. From Kaura to Kancán, Malwa and Kanja, is two days' journey, in all which wheat and rice are cultivated, and into which the wood of aloes is imported from Kamúl and other neighbouring places by the sea route in fifteen days. From Samunder to Urisser are twelve parasangs, this is a great country, where are elephants, buffaloes, and other cattle and various merchantable commodities. This place is held in much renown. From Urisser to Ama is four days' journey, where elephants and asses are met with.

[After this follows the description of Pic d' Adam. In another place the author continues his account of India in these words:—]

There are seven classes of Hindús, viz, 1st, Sábkufría, among whom are men of high caste, and from among whom kings are chosen. The people of the other six classes do the men of this class homage, and them only. 2nd, Brahma, who totally abstain from wine, also from the juice of the date and palm tree. 3rd, Kataría, who drink not more than three cups of wine, and the daughters of the class of Brahma are not given in marriage to the sons of this class, but the Brahma take their daughters. 4th, Súdúriá, who are by profession husbandmen. The 5th, Baisuráh, are artificers and domestics. The 6th, Sandália, who perform menial offices. 7th, Lahúd, their women are fond of adorning themselves with gaudy apparel, and jewellery, and their men are noted for their unbounded love of amusements and all sorts of diversions.\* In Hind there are forty-two religious

\* None of the early Arabian Geographers notice this division into tribes. The Grecian Authors, on the authority of Megasthenes, divide the tribes into seven, and attribute the following offices to them, which are very different from those assigned by Ibn Khordadbeh.

	State	Duties	Attire
1st Class	Philosophers	Philosophers	Sophists
2nd "	Husbandmen	Husbandmen	Husbandmen
3rd "	Shepherds and hunters	Cow-herds and shepherds	Cow-herds and shepherds
4th "	Artificers and merchants	Artificers	Artificers, merchants and boatmen
5th "	Warriors	Warriors	Warriors
6th "	Inspectors	Inspectors	Inspectors
7th "	Counsellors and advisers	Counsellors and advisers	Assessors

sects, \* part of them believe in a creator and prophet—the blessing of God be upon them †, part deny the mission of a prophet, and part are atheists

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We will now quote the famous Mas'údí, who visited India, Ceylon, and the coast of China, in A H 303 The following extracts are from his work entitled, “ Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems,” of which the first part has been well translated by Dr A Sprenger. He was an acute observer, and deservedly continues one of the most admired writers in the Arabic language His travels extended over nearly all the countries subject to Muhammedan sway. He says of himself that he travelled so far to the West (Morocco and Spain) that he forgot the East, and so far to the West (China) that he forgot the West He died A. D. 956

India is a vast country, having many seas and mountains, and borders on the empire of ez-Záníj, which is the kingdom of the Maharáj, the King of the islands, whose dominions form the frontier between India and China, and are considered as part of India

The Hindú nation extends from the mountains of Khorasán and of es-Sind as far as et-Tubbet But there prevails a great difference of feelings, language, and religion, in these empires, and they are frequently at war with each other The most of them believe on the metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul. The Hindús are distinct from other black nations, as the Zanj ed-Demádem and others, in point of intellect, govern-

(Vid *Strab Geogr lib xv 703—707 Arrian Indica ll 12 Diodor Sic lib II 40, 41 and Megasthenis Fragmenta E A Schwanbeck, pp 42, 121—127*)

It is not easy to identify the names given by Ibn Khordadbeh The 1st is unintelligible—the 2nd is evident—the 3rd seems to indicate the Khattris—the 4th the Súdras—the 5th the Vaisava—the 6th the Chandals—the 7th the Bazigars and itinerant jugglers

\* This is the number ascribed by the indignant Frenchman to England—“ Forty-two religions † and only one sauce † † ”

ment, philosophy, colour, appearance, good constitution, talent, and intelligence.

No king can succeed to the throne, according to Hindú laws, before he is forty years of age, nor appears their sovereign ever before the public, except at certain times, which are fixed at long intervals, and then it is only for the inspection of state affairs, for, in their opinion, the kings lose their respect and give away their privileges if the public gazes at them. The measures of government must be carried by mildness in India, and by degradation from a higher rank.

The royalty is limited upon the descendants of one family, and never goes to another. The same is the case with the families of the Vazier, Kadhi, and other high officers. They are all (hereditary and) never changed nor altered.

The Hindús abstain from (spirituous) liquors, not in obedience to some religious precept, but because they do not choose to take a thing which overwhelms their reason, and makes cease the dominion which this faculty is to exercise over men. If it can be proved of one of their kings, that he has drunk (wine), he forfeits the crown; for he is (not considered to be) able to rule and govern (the empire) if he is given to such habits.

El-Jáhit supposes that the river Míhrán in es-Sind is the Nile, alleging as a proof that crocodiles live in it. I cannot understand how this proof can be conclusive. This he states in his book "On the leading cities and the wonders of the countries." It is an excellent work, but as he has never made a voyage and few journeys and travels through kingdoms and cities, he did not know that the Míhrán of es-Sind comes from the well-known sources of the highland of es-Sind, from the country belonging to Kinnaur, in the kingdom of Búdah, and of Kashmir el-Kendahár, and et-Takín, the tributaries which rise in these countries run to el-Múltán and from thence the united river receives the name Míhrán. El-Múltán means meadows of gold. The king of el-Múltán is a Koráishite, and of the children of Osámah Ben Lawí Ben Ghalib. His dominion extends as far as the frontier of Khorasán. The lord of the kingdom of el-Mansúrah is a Koráishite, who is descended from Habbar Ben el-Aswad, who has been one of their kings. The crown of el-Múltán has been hereditary, in the family which rules at present, since ancient times, and nearly from the beginning of the Islám.

From el-Múltán the river Míhrán takes its course to the country of el-Mansurah, and falls about ed-Daíhol into the Indian ocean. In this sea are many crocodiles, for it has several estuaries and gulfs, as the estuary of Sindabur in the kingdom of Bághar, in India; the estuary of ez-Zinj in the dominions of

the Maharáj, and the gulfs of el-A'náb (grapes,) which extend towards the island Serendib (Ceylon). The crocodiles live particularly in sweet water, and, as we said, in the estuaries of India, the water of which is for the most part sweet, on account of the streams which arise from rain and fall in them

\* \* \* \* \*

The king of India is the Ballahrá, the king of Kinnauj, who is one of the kings of es-Sind is Búdah, this is a title general to all kings of el-Kinnauj, at present this city is under the sceptre of the Islám, for it forms a province of el-Múltán. Through this town passes one of the (five) rivers, which form together the river Míhrán in es-Sind, which is considered by el-Jáhit as the Nile, and by others as the Jaihún of Khorásán. This Búdah, who is the king of el-Kinnauj, is an enemy of the Ballahrá, the king of India. The king of el-Kandahár, who is one of the kings of es-Sind ruling over this country, is called Jahaj, this name is common to all sovereigns of that country. From his dominions comes the river Ravid, one of the five rivers which form the Míhrán of es-Sind. Kandahár is called the country of the Rahbút (Rajbut), another river of the Panjab is called Hátíl, it comes also from the mountains of es-Sind, and runs through the country of er-Rahbút, which is the country of el-Kandahár. The fourth river of the Panjáb comes from the country of Kábul, and its mountains, which forms the frontier of es-Sind towards Bost, Ghaznah, Nafsh, (?) er-Rokh-khaj, and the country of er-Rawan, which is the frontier of Syistán. One of the five rivers comes from the country of Kashmír. The king of Kashmír has the name of er-Rána, which is a general title for all kings

\* \* \* \* \*

When all the rivers which we have enumerated have passed the golden temple, which is the meaning of the name of el-Múltán, they unite at about three days' journey below this city and above el-Mansúrah, at a place called Dusháb, into one stream, which proceeds to the town of er-Rud, which lies on its western bank and belongs to el-Mansurah, where it receives the name Míhrán. There it is divided into two branches, both of which fall at the town of Shákirah, which belongs also to one of the districts of el-Mansurah, into the Indian sea, under the name of Míhrán of es-Sind, about two days' journey from the town of ed-Daibol.

El-Múltán is seventy-five Sindian farsangs from el-Mansúrah. Each farsang has eight miles, as stated above. All the estates and villages under the dependency of el-Mansúrah amount to three hundred thousand. The whole country is well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields. They are at constant war with a nation called the Mind, who are a race of the Sind, and with other nations on the frontiers of es-Sind. El-Múltán is equally on the frontier of es-Sind, and so are the towns and villages belonging to it. El-Mansurah has its name from Mansur



Ben Jambúr, governor of the Omayyides The king of el-Man-súrah has eighty war elephants, every one of which is supported by five hundred infantry in battle, as we have already remarked; and these elephants can oppose thousands of horses

\* \* \* \* \*

Let us now resume our short account of the kings of es-Sind and India The language of es-Sind is different from that of India. Es-Sind is the country which is nearer the dominions of the Moslems, and India that which is farther from them The inhabitants of el-Mánkir, which is the residence of the Ballahrá, speak the Kiriya language, which has this name from the places where it is spoken. On the coast, as in Saímúr (?) Súbárah, Tánah, and other towns on the coast of the Ládiwá sea, a language is spoken which has its name from the sea which washes these countries; and this is the Ládiwá sea, which has been described above On this coast are many rivers, which run from the south, whilst all other rivers of the world flow from north to south, excepting the Nile, of Egypt, and the Mihrán, of es-Sind

\* \* \* \* \*

Next to the country of Ballahrá is the kingdom of et-Tákin

The king is on friendly terms with the neighbouring sovereigns and with the Moslems, his military forces are less considerable than those of the kings whom we have named. Beyond this kingdom is that of Rahmá, which is the title for their kings, and generally at the same time their name His dominions border on those of the king of the Khazars, and, on one side, on those of el-Ballahrá, with whom he is frequently at war Rahmá has more troops, elephants, and horses, than the Ballahrá, the king of el-Khazar and of et-Tákin When he takes the field, he has no less than five thousand elephants He never goes to war but in winter, because the elephants cannot bear thirst His forces are generally exaggerated, some believe that the number of fullers and washers in his camp, is from ten to fifteen thousand.

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The following extract is from the "Oriental Geography," translated by Sir W. Ouseley, the author of which, though proved to be neither Ibn Khordádbeh, nor Ibn Haukal, is generally acknowledged to have written at the early part of the 10th Century of the Christian Era, and is now by almost common consent considered to be Istakhri.

\* \* \* \* \*

Besmeid is a small town Besmeid, and Moultan, and Chendvar, are situated on the eastern side of the river of Moultan, each at the distance of one farsang from the bank of the river. The water used in these towns is well water

Daubul is situated on the eastern side of the river Mihran, on the sea coast, it is the port of this country In the cultivation of their lands, the inhabitants do not use water It is a barren place, but people dwell there for the convenience of transacting mercantile business

Bileroun is a town between Daubul and Mansoureh, on the west of the river Mihran, and Beherje, and Mesouai, and Sedousan, and Hedlech, are situated on the western side of the river Mihran Andi and Dalou are both on the eastern side of it, at a distance from the river, in going from Mansoureh to Moultan.

Balou is situated on the banks of the river Mihran, near a bay, formed by that river behind Mansoureh Famhel is a town on the first borders of Hindoostan.

Manah is a small town, built by Abdalaziz Hebareh, the ancestor of that race which took Mansourah

Nedeheh is a tract of flat land between Touran, and Mekran, and Moultan, and the towns of Mansoureh This territory lies on the west of the river Mihran It is a place remarkable for camels The chief town of this district is a place of much commerce, it is called Kaudabil The men of this town resemble those of the desert, they have houses constructed of reeds, along the banks of the river Mihran, as far as the borders of Moultan, and to the sea side, and between Mihran and Famhel they have pasture lands and meadows They are a numerous tribe Famhel, and Sedousan, and Meimoun, and Keviabeh, all four have mosques, in which the religious ceremonies of Islam are publicly performed there are great quantities of the Indian wall-nut, and of the fruit called Mouz, with various kinds of herbs, and much honey

Rahouk and Kelwan are two districts between Armaiel and Kaur, both these are without water, they abound in cattle

Touran is a little district, with many small villages and hamlets belonging to it Ahmed ben Maamr possesses them, and the Khutbah is read in the Khalif's name The town in which he resides is a considerable place, well supplied with provisions, and abounding in fruits, it is never subject to cold weather. Between Manah and Fambel there is a desert also between Fambel and Kemabah

Tasimoun is a populous district, in which the Mussulmans and Indians are intermixed In this place the only garment they wear is the azar, or sash round the middle, as the heat renders all others unnecessary it is also the custom at Moultan In

the province of Makran they speak the Persian and Makrani languages. The merchants wear the cloak and turban.

Makran is an extensive country, but liable to scarcity and want of provisions. Hosein ben Isa ben Maadan took possession of the district called Mihra, and dwelt in the town of Kair, which is as large as Moultan, and a good harbour, it has many date trees; in the territory of it is a well called the "well of Makran". It is the largest town in Makran.

There is a district called Kherouje, the capital of which is Rasek, and there is a village belonging to it called Herman, these places belong to Zéfer ben Reja, and the Khntbah is read in the name of the Khalif. His territory extends near three merhileh, it affords some hundred of date trees and furnishes Faneid (a kind of sweet paste or candied cakes), to all quarters, its villages border on those of the province of Kirman, at the place called Meskeni.

Resasil and Kanteli are two large towns within two menzils from Resasil to the sea is half a farsang.

Kandabil is a considerable city situated in the desert. Kirkan is another large town in the desert.

In the district of Azend the Mussulmans and infidels are all intermixed. Here they have cattle and gardens. The name of a man who took this place was Nael (or Nabal), and it is called after him.

#### *Distances of places in Sind*

From Bein to Kebr, five merhileh, from Kebr to Fetrioun, two merhileh, and if one goes from the road of Fetrioun, by the road of Makran, it is the same distance, from Fetrioun to Derek, three merhileh, from that to Asofkah, two merhileh, from that to Med, one merhileh, from Med to Kesr, one merhileh, from Kebr to Armael, six merhileh, from Mansoureh to Touran, fifteen merhileh, from Kesdan to Moultan, twenty merhileh. Kesdan is the chief town of Touran. From Mansoureh to the borders of Nedeheh, five merhileh, and from Kebr, which is the residence of Isa ben Maadan, to Nedeheh, ten merhileh, from Nedeheh to Bein, fifteen merhileh; from Bein to Kesdan, twelve merhileh; from Nedeheh of Moultan, to the extremity of the borders of Tetar, which they call Bales, ten merhileh, and when one goes from Mansoureh towards Nedeheh, to Sedousan, the way is by the bank of the river Mubran. From Kandabil to Mesbah, in the territory of Bein, four merhileh, from Kesdan to Kandabil, five farsang, from Kandabil to Mansoureh, about eight merhileh; and from Kandabil to Moultan, ten merhileh of desert, from Mansoureh to Famhel, twenty merhileh, from Famhel to Kemabah four merhileh.

Sourbah is near the sea, from Suidan to Sourbah, is five merhileh, from Moultan to Besmeid, two merhileh, from Besmeid

to Rud (or the river), three merhileh, from that to Aberi, four merhileh, from Aberi to Feldi, four merhileh, from Feldi to Mansoureh, one merhileh, from Daubul to Pirouz, four merhileh, from Pirouz to Mehabeti, two merhileh, from Faloni to Beldon, four farsang

*Of the Rivers in this country*

Of the Mihran it is said that the source is the river Jihoun, it comes out at Moultan, and passes on to the borders of Besmeid, and by Mansourah, and falls into the sea on the east of Daubul. The waters of the river Mihran are pleasant and wholesome, and they say it is liable to tides, or flux and reflux, like the Nile, and that it is infested by crocodiles. The Sind Rud, at three merhileh from Moultan, is of pleasant water, and joins the river Mihran. Water is very scarce throughout the land of Makran, there is some near Mansoureh. Many of the inhabitants of Makran resemble the Arabs, they eat fowl and fish others of them are like the Curds. Here is the extreme boundary of the land of Islam in this direction



In one of the Royal Libraries of Lucnow there is a very old Arabic manuscript, written A. H. 589, and entitled “Ashkálu-l-Bilád,” containing maps and a geographical description of several countries. It is not quite perfect. On comparing this work with Ibn Haukal, I find it almost verbatim the same, so much so, as to leave no doubt that it is a copy of Ibn Haukal’s work under an unusual name. As there are only two copies in Europe, one of which is very bad, this MS. is of considerable value. The following extract is translated from the Ashkálu-l-Bilád, followed by a passage from Ibn Haukal, in the part where the Lucnow manuscript was deficient, or which probably the transcriber neglected to copy.

Ibn Haukal wrote his work about A. D. 977 A. H. 367, and is the last author on Geography whom we have to consider (Vid Uylenbroek,

*Descr. Irac. Pers* p 57 U11, *Bodl Codd MSS*  
*Cat.* p 209 )

From the sea to Tibet is four months' journey, and from the  
 sea of Fars to the country of Canauy is three months' journey

\* \* \* \* \*

I have placed the country of Sind and its dependences in one map, which exhibits the entire country of Sind, part of Hind, and Túrán, and Bodh \* On the entire east of this tract there lies the sea of Fars, and on the west, Kirman and the desert of Sejestán, and the countries subject to it. To the north are the countries of Hind, and to the south is the desert lying between Mekrán and Kufs, beyond which is the sea of Fars. This sea is to the east of the above-mentioned territories, and to the south of the said desert, and extending from Saimúr on the east to Taiz of Mekrán, it encircles Kirmán and Fars like a bow.

The chief cities of this tract are the following In Mekrán,—Taiz,† Kabar, Kabryún, Darak, Rasil, the city of schismatics,

\* Gildemeister, in his edition of Ibn Haukal, reads this *Bodha*, (p 163), so does Abulfeda (p. 261), Ouseley, in his *Oriental Geography*, reads it *Nedehek* (p 146) The question will be considered in a subsequent note

† As these names differ in Ibn Haukal and other authors, it may be as well to subjoin the different passages for comparison.

Ibn Haukal says —“ In Mekran there are Taiz, Kaunazbúr, Darek, Rasek, Neh, Kasrfand Adhafa, Tahalfahara, Mashka, Kambala, Armáil In Thuran, Magak, Kigkánán, Shura, Kazdar In Bodha, Kandábil. In Sind Mansúra, Daibal, Birún, Valará, Ayará, Balrá, Masváli, Fahrag, Bania, Manhatara, Sadústan, Rúz, Gandarúz In Hind, Kamuhul, Kámbaya, Súbara, Asavil, Hanavil, Sindan, Samur, Báni Battan, Gandaruz, Sandaruz (*De rebus Indicis* p 164)

Ouseley gives them thus Als, Kusr, Femosin, Derek, Rasek, Kesrbund, Kelaaherek, Meski, Meil, Armaiel, Mehah, Kibrkaman, Soreh, Kandabil, Mansourah or Sindah, Dnubal, Merow, Manoui, Atri, Baloni, Mesonahi, Behcrje, Masch, Meshari, Sedusan (*Oriental Geography*, p 147)

The Nubian Geographer gives a more copious list, of which some can be identified with those above given —Kia Kir, Ermal, Band, Casr-band, Lizabar, Haur, Cámbele, Manhábere, Dábil, Nirun, Fairuza, Mansúra, Kandán, Asfaca, Darec, Masurgian, Fardan, Kircman, Cadera, Basma, Tuberan, Moltan, Giandur, Sandur, Dur, Atre, Cálere, Báseera, Mescuam, Sadusan, Bania, Mámchal, Kamban, Subára, Sandán, Saimur, Fahalfahera, Rasce, Sarusan, Kusa, Kased, Sura, Nodha, Mehyme, Falon, Calron and Belu (*Geographia Nubiensis*, pp 56, 57)

M Jaubert, in his translation of Edrisi, gives the names as Kia, Kir, Ermal, Casri-bundi, Firabouz, Khour, Canbely, Menhabery, Dibal, Niroun, Mansouria, Wandan, Asfaca, Darek, Masourdjan, Fardan, Kircman, Cadira, Besmek, Touberan, Moultan, Djoudour, Sandour, Dour, Atry, Calery, Nira, Masouam, Charonsan, Bania, Mamchel, Kanbara, Soubara, Sebzan and Seimour (*Géographie d'Edrisi*, Tom 1 p 160)

Beh, Nand, Kasírkand, Asfaka, Fahalfahara, Muslí, Kuslí, Armáil In Turán,—Maháíl, Kaníkánán, Saurá and Kasdár In Bodhá,—Kandábil In Sind,—Mansúra, which, in the Sind language, is called Bámiwan, Daibal, Nirun,\* Fálid, Ibrí, Ayarí Balzí, Mísráhí, Harúj, Báruá, Manjábarí, Sadúsán, Dúr In Hind,—Famhal, Cambáya, Sanbárah, Sabdán, Saimúr, Maleán,† Hadarpoor, and Basmát

The country from Cambáya to Saimúr belongs to Balhara, one of the kings of Hind ‡ The inhabitants are infidels, although the places are of Muhammedan origin, as their kings before Balhara were Muhammedans § There are many mosques to be met with in these places, where Muhammedans assemble to pray

The city in which Balhara resides is Mangir,|| which has an extensive territory attached to it

Mansúra is a mile long and a mile broad, surrounded by a branch of the Míhrán It is like an island, and the inhabitants are Musulmánus The king of the country is one of the tribe of Koreish, named Ladbah, the son of Hobád, the son of Aswad — Ladbah and his predecessors, who were of the same family, held possession of this island, and maintain it to this day, but the Khutba is read in the name of the Khalífa The climate is hot, and the date tree grows here, but there is neither grape, nor apple, nor walnut, nor guava in it There is a species of cane to be met with, producing sugar The land also produces a fruit of the size of the apple It is called Lemún, and is exceedingly acid The place also yields a fruit called Ambaj (mangoe) resembling the peach in appearance and flavour It is plentiful and cheap Prices are low and there is an abundance of food

The current coin of the country is stamped at Candahár, one of the pieces is equivalent to five Dirhems. The Tatar¶ coin

\* In the Ashkálu-l-Bilad this is plainly either Bírún, or Nírún, as suggested by M Gildemeister The original text which he has given of Ibn Haukal has no resemblance to either name

† M Gildemeister suggests that this may be Panípat, as he reads it in the original as Baní Battan

‡ The printed text here adds, "to whom the Book of Fables is dedicated" There is no mention of this in the Ashkálu-l-Bilad

§ This is a very different statement from the printed text, which says that the Muhammedans had a prefect of their own persuasion, and that the author had observed the samē practice in several other cities of which the Rulers were Infidels The curious statement here made gives some colour to Tod's assertion about the Muhammedan king of Cambay in the time of Bappa (*Annals of Raj* I 247) which M Gildemeister (p 31) has declared to be "prorsus futile"

|| There is nothing like this in the printed text, but the assertion corresponds with the statement of Mas'údí, (*Meadows of Gold*, pp 175, 193, and 383)

¶ Remusat and Mas'údí have the same. It is difficult to say what is meant by the expression

also is current, each being in amount equal to a Dirhem and a half. They likewise use Dinárs. The dress of the people of the place is the same as that worn by the inhabitants of Irák, except that the dress of the sovereigns of the country resembles in the skirt and tunic that worn by the kings of Hind.

Múltán is about half the size of Mansúra, and is called "the boundary" of the house of gold. There is an idol in the place held in great veneration by the Hindús, and people from distant parts undertake a yearly pilgrimage to its temple and there expend vast sums of money. Many take up their residence at the shrine to lead there a life of devotion.

Múltán derives its name from this idol. The temple is situated on an elevation in a populous part of the city, in the midst of a bazar, near which mechanics and the dealers in ivory pursue their trade. The idol is placed immediately in the centre of the temple, around which the priests and the pilgrims take up their residence, and no other man in Múltán, either of Hind or Smd. is allowed to remain in the temple except the ministrants above mentioned.

The idol has a human shape, and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture, on a pedestal made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like Morocco leather, but its eyes are open. Some say that the body of the idol is made of wood; some deny this; but it is not possible to ascertain this point with certainty, by reason of the skin which covers the body. The hands rest upon the knees, with the fingers closed,\* so that only four can be counted. The eyes of the idol are of some precious gem, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. The sums collected from the offerings of the pilgrims at the shrine are taken by the Amír of Múltán, and distributed amongst the servants of the temple. As often as the Indians make war upon them and endeavour to seize the idol, they bring it out, pretending that they will break it and burn it. Upon which the assailants return, otherwise they would destroy Múltán.

There is a strong fort in Múltán. Prices are low, but Mansúra is more fertile and populous. The reason why Múltán is de-

\* The Ashkálú-l-Bilad says "burj," or bastion, which at first sight would seem a more probable reading, but the reasons assigned for reading the word "farj" are so strong, as set forth by M. Hamaker, in his note to the *Descriptio Irace Persice* (p. 67) that we are not entitled to consider "burj" as the correct reading.

† Ibn Haukel says, "with expanded fingers." Zakariyá Qazvini, following Istakhri, says "closed hands." The Ashkálú-l-Bilad concurs with Istakhri, as quoted by M. Kosegarten. *De Mohariride Ibn Batuta*, p. 27. Edrisi speaks of four hands, instead of four fingers, and a very slight change in the original would authorize that reading (*Geog.-aphic* par M. Jaubert, Tom. I. p. 167).

signated "the house of gold" is, that the Muhammedans, though poor at the time they conquered the place, enriched themselves by the gold which they found in it. About half a farsang from Múltán are several edifices called Chaudráwár,\* the cantonment of the chief, who never enters Múltán, except on Fridays, and then on the back of an elephant, in order to join in the prayers enjoined for that day. The Governor is of the tribe of Koreish, of the sons of Samáh, the son of Lawí, who first occupied the place. He owes no allegiance to the chief of Mansúra. He, however, always reads the Khutba in the name of the Khalífa.

Basmad is a small city, situated like Múltán and Chandráwár, on the east of the river Míhrán. This river is at the distance of a parasang from each of the places mentioned. The inhabitants use well-water for drink. Basmad has a fort.

The country of Abrúr† is as extensive as Múltán. It has two walls, is situated near the Míhrán, and is on the borders of Mansúra.

The city of Daibal is to the west‡ of the Míhrán, towards the sea. It is a large mart, and the port not only of this but neighbouring regions. Daibal is remarkable for the richness of its grain cultivation, but it is not over-abundant in large trees or the date tree. It is famous for the manufacture of swords §. The inhabitants generally maintain themselves by their commerce.

The country of Nírún is between Daibal and Mansúra, but rather nearer to the latter. Manjábar|| is to the west of the

\* This most resembles the word in the Ashkálu-l-Bilád. Gildemeister gives it as *Jandrár* and *Gándar*. The Nubian Geographer says, *Jandúr*, and Abú-l-fedá, *Gandáwar*.

† Ibn Haukal says *Abrúz*. Abú-l-fedá says, *Azúr*. The Nubian Geographer says *Aldaur*, as does the Ashkálu-l-Bilád, in a different part of this chapter.

‡ Ibn Haukal says to the east. The text of the Ashkálu-l-Bilád is plain on this point, and the Map also represents Daibal to the west.

§ M. Gildemeister translates this "locus sterilis est," which is scarcely consistent with the previous assertion about the cultivation, in which also his copy does not concur—"Agros non habet irriguos."

|| This name is read very differently by different Geographers. Vincent thinks that it is the same town as the Minnagara of Ptolemy, and of the Perplus usually ascribed to Arrian. D'Anville supposes Minnagara to be the same as Mansúra. C. Ritter says it is Tatta, so does Alex. Burnes, because Tatta is now called Sa-Minagur, and Mannert says, Binagara should be read for Minnagara. These high authorities place it on the Indus. But although goods were landed at Barbarice, the port of the Indus, and conveyed to Minnagara "by the river," there is no reason why Minnagara should have been on that river.

The Perplus merely says, "Minnagara is inland." *ἡ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἑσπέρῳ*. Again the Perplus says the "Metropolis of the whole country, is Minnagara, whence great quantities of cotton goods are carried down to Barygaza," or Baroch, which could scarcely have been the place of export, if Minnagara had been on the



Mihrán, and there any one who proceeds from Daibal to Mansúra will have to pass the river, the latter place being opposite to Manjábari

Maswáhi, Harj and Sadúsán,\* are also situated to the west of the Mihrán

On the road between Mansúra and Múltán, and on the east of the Mihrán, but distant from it, are two places called Ibrí and Labí.

Indus But even allowing it to have been on the Indus, there is every reason to suppose it was on the eastern bank, whereas Manjábari is plainly stated to be on the western

Lassen derives the name of this capital of Indo-Scythia from the Sanskrit *Nagara*, a town, and *Min*, which he shows from Isidorus Characenus to be the name of a Scythian city The Sindomana of Arrian may, therefore, owe its origin to this source C Ritter says *Min* is a name of the Sacas, if so, there can be little doubt that we have their representatives in the wild Minas of Rájpútana, who have been driven but little to the eastward of their former haunts

Minnagara is, according to Ptolemy, in Long 115 15 Lat 19 20, and he places it on the Nerbadda, so that his Minnagara, as well as that of the second quotation from the Periplus, may possibly be the famous Mándúgarh, (not far from that river,) and the Mankur which the early Arab Geographers represent as the capital of the Ballahra.

The fact appears to be that there were two Minnagaras—One, or near, the Indus, another on the Nerbadda (Narmada) Ptolemy's assertion cannot be gainsaid, and establishes the existence of the latter on the Nerbadda The one on, or near, the Indus, was the capital of Indo-Scythia, and the Binagara, or Agrinagara, of Ptolemy We learn from the *Tuhfatu-l-Kuram* that in the twelfth century Minagar was one of the cities dependent on Múltán, and was in the possession of a chief, by caste an *Agri*, descended from Alexander. When we remember that Arrian informs us that Alexander left some of his troops, (including, no doubt, Agrians,) as a garrison for the town at the junction of the Indus and Acesines, this affords a highly curious coincidence, which cannot, however, be further dilated upon in this place

(Compare Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol IV part I p 475, and Vol V p 191 Ptol Geogr Lib VII C 1. Tab 10 Vincent, *Periplus of the Erythræan sea*, p 349 D'Anville, *Antiq & P Inde*, p 34. Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, Vol I pp 107, 130, 136 Hudson, *Geograph Vet Scriptores Græci Min* Vol I As Soc Vol I p 31 C Lassen, *De Pentapotamia Ind* p 56 *Allgemeine Encyclop Art Indien*, p 91 Arnani *De Expedit Alex* - Lib VI 15)

\* The *Tárikh-i Alfi*, in a passage relating to Sultán Jalalu-d-Din's proceedings on the Indus, mentions that Sadúsán was subsequently called Sístán. Though the writer here commits the common error of confounding Sístán with Sehwan, or Sehwestan, on the Indus, yet he leaves us in no doubt what correction to apply, and we thus derive from him an interesting piece of information, for the position of Sadúsán, which is so frequently mentioned in the Arab accounts of Sind, has not hitherto been ascertained

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Máildí is also near the Mihrán, and on the western bank, near the branch which issues from the river and encircles Mansúra

Bilha is a small city, the residence of Omar, the son of Abdul-Azziz Habbári, of the tribe of Koreish, and the ancestor of those who reduced Mansúra

The city of Famhal\* is on the borders of Hind, towards Saimúr, and the country between those two places belongs to Hind. The country between Famhal and Mekrán, and Bodhia, and beyond it as far as the borders of Múltán, are all the dependencies of Sind. The infidels who inhabit Sind are called Bodha† and Mand. They reside in the tract between Túrán, Múltán and Mansúra, to the west of the Mihrán. They breed camels, which are sought after in Khorásán and elsewhere, for the purpose of having crosses from those of Bactria

The city where the Bodhites carry on their trade is Candábíl, and they resemble men of the desert. They live in houses made of reeds and grass. The Mands dwell on the banks of the Mihrán, from the boundary of Múltán to the sea, and in the desert between Mekrán and Famhal. They have many cattle sheds and pasturages, and form a large population

There are Jáma Masjids at Famhal, Sindán, Saimúr and Cambáya, all which are strong and great cities, and the Muhammedan precepts are openly observed. They produce mangoes, cocoanuts, lemons, and rice in great abundance, also great quantities of honey, but there are no date trees to be found in them.

\* Ibn Haukal has, *Kámukul* Ouseley, *Famhel*. The Nubian Geographer, *Mamehel*. Abú-l-fedá, *Kamhal*. Edrisi, *Mamehel*. They all concur in making it the border town between Hind and Sind. Edrisi implies that it is not far from the coast, and that it is five days' journey from Cambay (Tom I pp 163 and 171). The Nubian Geographer places it to the east of the Indus, before that river divides into two branches. Ibn Haukal says it is four days' journey from Cambay, and that there is a desert between the two towns. Zakariya Cazzíní does not notice it.

† The passage is difficult. Gildemeister says, "Gentiles, qui in Sindia degunt, sunt Bodhitæ, et gens quæ Mund vocatur Bodha nomen est variarum tribuum," &c (p 172), where see also the note in which he adduces a passage from Ibn Haukal, showing that there was a class of Jats known by the name of Nodha, in the neighbourhood of Múltán, and therefore the passage may be translated "Nodhites and Mands." Edrisi says, the country from Múltán to Mansúra is occupied by Nedha, (Tom I 169,) and Cazzíní and the Nubian Geographer call this tract Nodha, and not Bodha, as Ibn Haukal does, though one copy even of that author give Nodha. If this should be the correct reading it lends an interest to a passage in Dionysius, who says in his *Periegesis*,

Ἰνδὸν πᾶρ ποταμὸν νότιοι Σκυθαὶ ἐννείουσιν—τ 1088

Νότιοι may have been meant for "the Nodhites," instead of "southern," as usually translated, or the Arabs may have converted the "southern" into a separate class with a distinctive name

The villages of Dahúk and Kalwán are contiguous to each other, situated between Labí and Armáíl Kalwán is a dependency of Mekrán, and Dahúk that of Mansúra In these last mentioned places fruit is scarce, but crops grow without irrigation, and cattle are abundant

Túrán\* is a town.

Kasdár is a city with dependent towns and villages The governor is Muín bin Ahmad, but the Khutba is read in the name of the Khalífa only, and the place of his residence is at the city of Kabár-Kánán This is a cheap place, where pomegranates, grapes, and other pleasant fruits are met with in abundance, but there are no date trees in this district.

\* \* \* \* \*

(Here ends the extract from the Ashkálu-l-Bilád, that which follows is from Ibn Haukal, as edited by M. Gildemeister)

There is a desert between Bania, Kámuhul and Kambaya. From Kambaya to Saimúr the villages lie close to one another, and there is much land under cultivation The moslems and infidels in this tract wear the same dresses, and let their beards grow in the same fashion. They use fine muslin garments on account of the extreme heat The men of Múltán dress in the same way. The language of Mansúra, Múltán and those parts is Arabic and Sindian In Mekrán they use Persian and Mekránic All wear short tunics except the merchants, who wear shirts and cloaks, like the men of Irák and Persia

\* \* \* \* \*

From Mansúra to Daibal is six days' journey—from Mansúra to Múltán, twelve—from Mansúra to Túrán, about fifteen—from Kasdár, the chief city of Túrán, to Múltán, twenty. From Mansúra to the nearest boundary of Bodhá, fifteen The whole length of the jurisdiction of Mekrán, from Taiz to Kasdár, is about fifteen From Múltán to the nearest border of Túrán is about ten. He who travels from Mansúra to Bodhá must go along the banks of the Míhrán, as far as the city of Sadústán From Kandábil to Mansúra is about eight days' journey From Kandábil to Múltán, by the desert, ten. From Mansúra to Kámuhul, eight,—from Kámuhul to Kambaya, four Kambaya is one parasang distant from the sea, and about four from Súbára, which is about half a parasang from the sea From Súbára to Sindán, which is the same distance from the sea, is about five days' journey;—from Sindán to Símúr about five;—from Símúr to Sarandíp, about fifteen,—from Múltán to Basmad, two,—from Basmad to Abrúz, three,—from Abrúz to Ayara, four,—from Ayara to Valara, two,—from Valara to Mansúra, one,—from Daibal to Kannazbúr, fourteen;—from Daibal to Manhátara (Man-

\* The printed text says "Túrán is a valley, with a city of the same name, in the centre of which is a citadel"

jábari) two, and that is on the road to Kannazbúr,—Kámuhul from Mansúra is two days' journey,\* and Bania intervenes. The Mihrán is the chief river of those parts. Its source is in a mountain, from which also some of the feeders of the Jihún flow. Many great rivers increase its volume, and it appears like the sea in the neighbourhood of Múltán. It then flows by Basmad, Abrúz and Mansúra, and falls into the sea, to the east of Daibal. Its water is very sweet, and there are crocodiles in it like those of Egypt. It equals the Nile in volume and strength of current. It inundates the land during the summer rains, and on its subsidence promotes the growth of crops, as in Egypt.

The river Sandarúz is three days' journey distant from Múltán. Its waters are abundant and sweet. I was told that its confluence with the Mihrán is above Basmad, but below Múltán.

Gandarúz is also a great and sweet river, on whose bank is the city of Gandarúz. It falls into the Mihrán below the Sandarúz, towards the country of Mansúra.

Mekrán contains chiefly pasturages and fields, which cannot be irrigated on account of the deficiency of water. Between Mansúra and Mekrán the waters form lakes, and the inhabitants of the country are the Indian races called Zut. Those who are near the river dwell in houses formed of reeds, like the Berbers, and eat fish and aquatic birds. Another clan of them, who live remote from the banks, are like the Kurds, and feed on milk, cheese, and bread made of millet.

We have now reached the extreme eastern border of the dominions of Islám. The revenue of the kings and governors is small, and not more than to satisfy their actual needs. Some, no doubt, have less than they wish.

\* He has just said, only a few lines before, that the distance between these two towns is eight days' journey, and that is doubtless the correct distance, otherwise, we should have only six days' journey between Mansúra and Cambay, which is obviously incorrect. Abú-l-feda, moreover, gives the distance as eight days' journey.

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## II.

## تاریخ بناکیتی

TARÍKH-I-BINÁKITI.

This is the same work as is called *Biná-Gety* by Mr James Fraser, in his "Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts;" and *Bina-i-Gety*, by General Briggs, in his translation of the Preface of *Ferishta*—which would seem to imply that the title was considered by them to bear the meaning of "History of the foundation of the world." It certainly is so understood by native transcribers, for I have seen no copy of *Ferishta*, not even the lithograph edition, in which it is not so written, and it has been so translated by some continental scholars. Its correct name at full length is, "*Rauza ulúu-l-albáb fi Tawáríkhul-Akábir wal-Ansáb*," "the Garden of the learned in the histories of great men and genealogies." It is chiefly an abridgment, as the author himself states, of the *Jámu-r-Rashídí*, and was compiled only seven years after that work, in A H 717—A D. 1317—by *Abú-Sulaimán Dáúd*, bin *Abú-l-Fazl*, bin *Muhammed Fakhr\** *Binákití*, so called from his having been born at *Binákit*, or *Finákit*, a town in *Transoxiana*, afterwards called *Sháhrukhía*. He copies *Rashídu-d-dín*

\* This is the name he gives in his own Preface. European Orientalists generally call him *Fakhr-u-d-Dín*.

closely, without, however, adopting his arrangement, and dedicates his work to Sultán Abú Saíd, the ninth Mongol king of Persia

The author was a Poet as well as an Historian, and was appointed by Sultán Gházán, poet laureate of his Court Till the discovery of the lost portions of the Jámíu-t-Tawárikh, Binákítí's work ranked very high both in Europe and Asia, but it must now take its place as a mere abridgment, and can be considered of no value as an original composition Several good copies of the work exist in European Libraries, as in the Rich collection, Nos 7626, 7627 of the British Museum; in the Leyden Library; and in Hammer-Purgstall's private collection. The work is not common in India. The best copy I know is in the possession of a native gentleman at Lucnow.

The 8th Book of this work is already known to the European public, though ascribed to a different author In the year 1677 Andrié Muller published at Berlin a small work in Persian with a Latin translation, under the title of *Abdallæ Beidavæi Historia Sinensis*, ascribing the original to the Nízámu-t-Tawárikh of Baizáwí It was reprinted by his son in 1689, and Brunet tells us that Stephen Weston published 50 copies of an English translation in 1820. M Quatremère had the ingenuity to guess, for several reasons which he states in detail, that this was in reality an extract from the History of Binákítí, and not from Baizáwí; and by comparing the passage he has given of Mull-

ler's printed work with Binákítí, of which a copy was not available to M. Quatremère, it proves to be verbatim the 2nd Chapter of the 8th Book of Binákítí: and as the same result has been obtained by comparing it with the copy in the British Museum, there can no longer be any doubt on this point, and the *Historia Sinensis* must henceforth be attributed to Binákítí.

### CONTENTS

Book I.—The Genealogy and History of the Prophets and Patriarchs from the time of Adam to Abraham, comprising a period of 4838 years (The use of the word *Ausyá* shows the writer to be a Shia Muhammedan,)—from p 2 to 25

Book II.—The kings of Persia, from Kaumurs to Yezdegerd, together with the celebrated Prophets and Philosophers who were their contemporaries, 4322 years,—from p 25 to 59.

Book III.—History of Muhammed, the four first Khalifs, twelve Imáms, and later Khalifs, down to Mustasím billah, the last of the Abbásides, 626 years,—from p 60 to 186.

Book IV.—The Sultáns and kings who in the time of the Abbáside Khalifs rose to power in the kingdom of Irán, including the dynasties of Saffárians, Sámánians, Dyálma, Ghaznevídes, Saljúkians, Khwárazmians, and the kings of the Forest, or Heretics, (Assassins,) 400 years,—from p. 186 to 208

Book V.—The History of the Jews, their Kings and Prophets, from Moses to Mutína, (Zedekiah, See 2 Kings xxiv 17,) who was slain by Bakhtnassar, 941 years,—from p 208 to 230.

Book VI.—The History of the Christians and Franks, the descent of the Virgin Mary from David, the kings of the Franks, the Cæsars and Popes, 1337 years,—from p 231 to 260

Book VII.—The Hindús, an account of the country and kings of India from Bāsdeo to Ala-u d dín, and an account of Shákmúní, 1200 years,—from p 260 to 281

Book VIII.—History of Khitá The government lasted, according to local historians, 42,875 years,—from p 281 to 299.

Book IX.—History of the Moghuls, the origin of Changez Khán, and his conquest of Persia, &c with an account of his sons and successors, 101 years,—from p. 299 to 402.

SIZE —Small Folio, containing 402 pages, of 21 lines

A fuller detail is given in the Vienna year-book for 1835 by Hammer-Purgstall, who states that our author composed his work in A. H. 718—not 717—though the latter date is expressly mentioned not only in the Preface, but in other parts of the work. The same author gives the year of his death as A. H. 730, and reads his name Binákati.

It will be observed that the seventh Book is devoted to India. Throughout the whole of it Binákati follows Rashídu-d-dín implicitly, copying him even with all his errors, just as Rashídu-d-dín follows Bínúní. Nothing shows more completely the ignorance of the western Asiatics with respect to the state of India since Mahmúd's time, than to find these two authors, 300 years afterwards, mentioning that Báí is the capital of the province of Canauj, of which the kings are the most potent in India; that Thanesar is in the Dúáb, and Muttra on the east bank of the Jumna. All this is taken from Abú Rihán, as may be seen by referring to the extracts in the preceding article.

It is needless to translate any passage from this work, but it may be as well to mention, as the Calcutta copy of Rashídí, as well as that of the India House, is deficient in that respect, that the succession of the Cábul kings, who preceded the Ghaznevídes, occurs in nearly the same order as in M. Reinaud's Edition of Bínúní, and with nearly the same names, but the last of the Turk dynasty, whom M. Reinaud calls Laktouzemán, is here under the more pro-



bable shape of Katorán "king of the Katores," and in closer resemblance to the Kutaurmán mentioned in Mr. E Thomas' able paper which lately appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. It is worthy of remark that the present chief of Chitrál is called Sháh Katore, and claims descent from the Macedonians. Kalar, the first of the Bráhmaṇ dynasty, is omitted by Binákití Anandpál is converted into Andapál, and the nearest approach to M Renaud's doubtful name of Nardanjánpála (correctly perhaps Niranjānpál) is Tásdar Jaipál \*

The Táríkh-i Binákití begins thus:—

الحمد لله حمده والصلاة على خير خلقه محمد وآله اجمعين  
اما بعد چون حق جل و علا توفيق ربّيق اين ضعيف گزدايد  
وهو اضعف حق اليه تعالى ابو سليمان داؤد بن ابي العصل  
محمد السناكتي

and concludes with these words:—

حداوندان تو عقل و داد بخشش بسوی مكرمت ارشاد بخشش  
جهان ار عدل او آباد گردان دل خلق جهان را شاد گردان  
بخشي ار فلک هر صبح و هر شام  
درام عمر و كام و نام و انعام

\* Compare, *Recueil des Voyages*, Tom II p 369 *Fundgruben des Orients*, Tom III p 330 *Gesch der Ilchane*, Vol II p 267 *Coll Or* Tom I pp LXXXV—CI 424. *Jahrbücher*, No 69 *Anz Blatt*, p 33 *Gesch d schon Red Pers* p 241 Elphinstone, *Kingdom of Cabul*, App C p 619. Burnes' *Bokhara*, Vol II. p 209 *Journ R. A S* Vol IX p 194 C Ritter, *Erd von As* Vol V p 207 *Gemal-desaal der Lebensb* Vol IV p 35 Zenker, *Bibliotheca Or* 857, 858 *Gesch d G Horde*, pp XXXI 343 Jenisch, *Hist. priorum Regum Persarum* p. 142 — *Jahrbb*, No 73 p 26.

## III.

## تاریخ گزیده

## TARĪKH-I-GUZĪDA

This work was composed in A H 730—A. D 1329—by Hamdulla bin Abíbakı bin Hamd bin Nası Muštaufı\* Kazvínı, and dedicated to the minister Ghaiásu-d-dín, the son of Rashídu-d-dín, to both of whom our author had been Secretary

It ranks among the best General Histories of the East. Hammer-Purgstall calls it in different passages of his works the best, the most faithful, and the most brilliant of all the histories which were composed about that period. He remarks that it contains much matter not found elsewhere, and concurs in the praise bestowed upon it by Hájı Khalfa, that implicit confidence is to be placed in its assertions. It is a pity, therefore, that the work is in so abridged a form as to be more useful for its dates than for its details of facts. The authors of the Universal History frequently quote it, under the name of Tarık Cozıdih.

Eleven years after the completion of this His-

\* "President of the Exchequer." It is somewhat doubtful whether this is a family designation, or one derived from actual occupation of office.

tory, the author composed his celebrated work on Geography and Natural History, entitled *Nuzhatu-l-Kulúb*. "the delight of hearts." which is in high repute with oriental scholars. and which has obtained for him from D'Herbelot the title of "*le Geographe Persan*."

The author states that he had undertaken to write in verse an universal History from the time of Muhammed. and had already written five or six thousand lines, and hoped to complete it in seventy-five thousand: but being anxious to bring out a work in prose also. in order that he might have the satisfaction of presenting it as soon as possible to his excellent patron. Ghaiás-u-dín, whose praises extend throughout two pages. he compiled the present work, under the name of *Tárikh-i-Guzída*, "Selected History." having abstracted it from twenty-four different works. of which he gives the names. and amongst them. the history of Tabarí. of Ibnu-l-Athír Jazarí. the *Nizámu-t-Tawárikh* of Baizáwí. the *Zubdatu-t-Tawárikh* of Jamálu-d-dín Káshí. and the *Jahán-kushái* of Juwainí. Besides these twenty-four, he quotes occasionally several other valuable works. many of which are now quite unknown.

The *Tárikh-i-Guzída* contains a Preface, six Books and an Appendix. The only Books useful for the illustration of Indian History are the third and fourth, in which are comprised the account of the early attempts of the Arabs on the Indian frontier and the History of the Ghaznevide and Ghorian monarchs.

## CONTENTS

The Preface contains an account of the creation of the world , from p 1 to p 8

Book I —An account of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Philosophers , in two sections and two subsections ,—from p 8 to 67.

Book II —The Peshdádians, Kairánians, Ashikánians, (Arsacidæ and Mulúki Tawáif) and Sássámians ,—in four sections, from p 68 to 109

Book III —Muhammed, the Khalífas and Imáms , in an Introduction and six sections ,—from p 109 to 311

Book IV —The eastern monarchies, from the beginning of Muhammedanism to A H 730—A. D 1329—in twelve sections and several subsections, devoted to the following Dynasties —

Bin-i Lais Saffár, Sámánians, Ghaznevîdes, Ghorians, Búyides or Dyáhmas, Saljúkians, Khwárazmians, Atábaks, (2 Sections,) Ismáílians, Karákhitáís, and Moghuls ,—from p 311 to 477

Book V —The Saints and Elders of the Muhammedan faith, Philosophers and Poets , in six sections ,—from p 477 to 557

Book VI —An account of the author's native place, Cazvín, and its celebrated characters , in eight sections ,—from p 557 to 603

The Appendix contains Genealogical Trees of Prophets, Princes, Philosophers and others ,—from p 603 to 618

SIZE—8vo containing 618 pages of 14 lines.

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A work in so abridged a form can scarcely be expected to present any passages worthy of extract, but the following are selected as comprising a few anecdotes which have escaped the notice of some more ponderous chroniclers.—

The Táríkh-i Yemíuí, Makámát Abú Nasr Maskátí, and the volumes of Abú-l-Fazl Baihakí, have recounted the actions of Mahmud of Ghazní

He was a friend to learned men and poets, on whom he bestowed munificent presents, insomuch that every year he expended upon them more than 400,000 Dinárs His features were very ugly One day regarding his own face in a mirror, he became thoughtful and depressed His Wazír inquired as to the cause of his sorrow, to which he replied, "It is generally understood that the sight of kings adds vigour to the eye, but the form with which I am endowed is calculated to strike the beholder blind" The Wazír replied, "Scarcely one man in a million looks on your

face, but the qualities of your mind shed their influence on every one Study, therefore, to maintain an unimpeachable character, that you may be loved by all your subjects" Yemínu d-daulah Mahmúd was pleased with this admonition, and since that period he paid so much attention to the cultivation of his mental endowments, that he surpassed all other kings in that respect \*

In the first year of his accession to the throne a mine of gold was discovered in Sístán in the shape of a tree, and the lower the miners dug the richer and purer it became, till one of the veins attained the circumference of three yards It disappeared in the time of Súltán Mas'úd, on the occurrence of an earthquake.

\* \* \* \* \*

In the year 394 he set out on an expedition to Sístán against Khalaf the son of Ahmad, because Khalaf, on returning from his pilgrimage, had appointed his son Táhir as his successor, and himself retired from the world and devoted himself to the worship of God, but being again prompted by ambition and desirous of the crown, he put his son to death by treachery Yemínu-d-daulah, in order to avenge this perfidy, attacked Khalaf, who took shelter in the fort of Táki. Yemínu-d-daulah besieged the fort, Khalaf capitulated, and visited Mahmúd under promise of a pardon, and had no sooner entered his presence than he addressed him as "Sultán" Yemínu-d-daulah, being pleased with this show of humiliation, freely pardoned Khalaf, and reinstated him in the government of Sístán, and from that period assumed the title of Sultán. Khalaf, son of Ahmad, after a while rebelled against Sultán Mahmúd, and sought the protection of Ilak Khán. Sultán Mahmúd, on hearing this, dethroned him from Sístán, and sent him to Júrján, where he remained till the day of his death.

Sultán Mahmúd having conquered Bhátea and Multán to the frontiers of Cashmír, made peace with Ilak Khán, who sometime after broke faith with him, and advanced to battle against him, but he was defeated, and took to flight. Many beautiful children fell into the hands of the Záwaleáns, who were delighted with their booty Ilak Khán then sought the assistance of the Ghazz and the Turks of Chín, the descendants of Afrásiáb, but was

\* This anecdote is given in the *Gemāldesaal d. Lebensb* but Ferishta merely says Mahmúd was marked with the small-pox

In the reign of Mas'ud, that Historian ascribes a statement to the Guzida which is at variance with the MSS I have consulted He says that according to the Guzida, Mas'ud reigned nine years and nine months, whereas the Guzida distinctly says that monarch reigned thirteen years. It may be as well to mention here that Briggs in his translation of Ferishta, has, by some oversight entered the History of Hamdulla Mustaufi and the *Tárikh-i-Guzida*, as two different works

† See Jenisch, *Histor. Reg Pers.* p 46

again defeated in an action near Balkh, and took a second time to flight. He again made peace with the Sultán, and went to reside in Máwaráu-n-nahr.

Sultán Mahmúd then made war with Nawása, (the grandson of?) the ruler of Multán, conquered that country, converted the people to Islám, put to death the ruler of Multán, and entrusted the government of that country to another chief.

Sultán Mahmúd now went to fight with the Ghomans, who were infidels at that time, and Súrí, their chief, was killed in this battle, and his son was taken prisoner, but dreading the Sultán's vengeance, he killed himself by sucking a ring in which there was poison concealed. The country of Ghor was annexed to that of the Sultán, and the population thereof converted to Islám. He now attacked the fort of Bhím, where was a famous temple of the Hindús, was victorious, and obtained much wealth, including about a hundred idols of gold and silver. One of the latter, which weighed above several thousand *mishkals*, the Sultán appropriated to the decoration of the Mosque of Ghazni, so that the ornaments of the doors were of gold instead of iron.

The rulers of Ghurjistán were at this time called Shár, Abú Nasr Shár Ghurjis, was at enmity with Sultán Mahmúd, who sent his army against him, and having taken him prisoner, the Sultán concluded peace with him, and purchased his property. From that time he entered the service of the Sultán and continued in it to the day of his death.

The ruler of Mardán\* having likewise rebelled against the Sultán, withheld the payment of revenue. The Sultán deputed Abú Saíd Táí with an army to make war with him, and he himself followed afterwards, and a battle ensuing, the chief of Mardán took refuge in a fort. The Sultán destroyed its walls by means of elephants, and thus gained possession of the fort. He there perceived some inscriptions on a stone bearing the date of the erection of the fort, which purported to be 40,000 years old. Upon this they were all convinced of the folly of the idolaters, as from the creation of Adam the age of the world did not (as it is generally understood) exceed 7,000 years, nor was it probable, according to the opinion of the learned, that a building could remain in a state of repair so long, but as their ignorance is carried to such a degree that they worship idols instead of the Supreme Being, it is not improbable that they really did entertain such a belief.

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This History, though often quoted by oriental writers, is rare in India. The best copy I know

\* Other authorities usually say Nárdán, but these differences will be noticed more opportuntely hereafter.

is in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society. No 493. but it is unfortunately defective both in the beginning and end. Yār Alī Khān, chief native Judge of Jaunpūr, has a good copy. and there is one also in the king of Lucnow's Library. In Europe the most celebrated are those of Stockholm. Paris. the British Museum the Bodleian Library. Hammer-Purgstall and Sir W. Ouseley.\*

The Tārīkh-i Guzida opens thus:—

سپاس و ستایش بادشاهی زاکه ملک او بیروال است و مملکت او  
بی انتقال است اول پدیس ار ابتدا، اخیری بعد از انکها ظاهر مطهر  
جیبیع اشیا باطنی چگونگی ذاتس پدیس ار داس ما قدیمی که  
قدم نا وجودش عدم بعد تطیی که قلم از شرح و عقیق  
قلمر آید

The conclusion, as given below. is obviously incorrect, and after a comparison of two copies. the sentence is still left doubtful

و هرجدولی که از مدوری بر حقیقت مهر اوست و آنرا که  
تحقیق بکنیت یدران معلوم شده و ازان فصل که بوده خدوشی بدو  
رسیده و ناو کرده تصحیه این اسباب از کتب معتقد علیه کرده شد  
والعلم عندالله

\* Compare *Wörter Ychrbb* No lxx p 10, and *Ansghl* p 31  
*Briggs' Farsihe* Vol I p. 1. *Funder. d Or* Vol III p 331. *Gesch.*  
*der Gold. Horde.* pp xvi. xxii *Coll Or* Tom I. p liv. *Gesch der*  
*Ilkane.* Vol. II. pp 268 329 *Gesch. d sch. red Pers* p 12 *Journ*  
*Asiatique.* III Ser. Tom I. p 531 M. Petus de la Croix. *Hbt de*  
*Genghis Can*, p 541 D Herbelot. *Bibl Or Art Tarikh Kfoudeh*

## IV.

## تاریخ حافظ ابرو

## TARİKH-I HAFİZ ABRU

Núru-d-Dín bin Lutf-ullah, better known as Háfiz Abrú, was born in the city of Heiát, but passed his infancy and youth in Hamadán, where he received his education. He attained by his writings a distinguished rank among contemporary authors, and was fortunate enough to secure the esteem of Timur, who gave him numerous proofs of his consideration, admitted him to his intimacy, and sought every occasion of doing him service. After the death of that tyrant, he attended the court of Sháh Rukh, and received from the young prince Muzá Baisengar every demonstration of kindness and regard. To him he dedicated his great work, under the name of Zubdatu-t-Tawáíkh Baisengarí, which contains a complete history of the world, and an account of the institutions and religions of different people down to A. H. 829\*.

\* The editor of a "Critical Essay on various Manuscript works," says that he has examined a copy of this History dated A. H. 817. He also observes that as Háfiz Abrú had travelled in many parts of Asia, his geographical statements, which are numerous, are well worthy of consideration.

The Vienna Jahrbucher says, the history is carried down to A. H. 825. These different statements cannot be reconciled, and there must be error somewhere.



—A D 1425 The author died five years afterwards in the city of Zanján.\*

The work is more generally known as *Tārīkh-i-Háfiz Abrú*, and under that name it is quoted by Haidar Rázi, Mirkhond, D Herbelot, Khondemír, and the *Tārīkh-i-Alfí*. Sir W. Ouseley frequently quotes it in his travels as abounding in geographical details.

I have never seen the work, nor am I aware that a copy exists in India, but it is frequently quoted as an authority on subjects connected with Indian History. The only copies in Europe which are spoken of, are those in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, and in Sir W. Ouseley's Collection.†

\* For its position see Index to Wilken's *Historia Samanidarum*, p. 222 v. *Zendschan*

† Compare *Coll Or* Tom I p cui, and II p lv. Wilken, *Histor Ghazneridarum*, pp xiv, 212, 227, 244 *Gesch d Gold Horde*, pp cvi and cxii *Wien Jahrb* No lxxiii pp 21, 25 D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or.* Tom. III p 426 *Critical Essay*, p 34 Mirkhond, *Ranzatu-s-Safú*, Vol. I, p 8. Fraehn, *Indications Bibliographiques*, No 188

## V.

## زین ال اخبار

## ZAINU-L-AKHBAR

This work is quoted in the Histories of Ferishta and Nizámu-d-Dín Ahmad Bakhshí as one of the authorities on which their statements are founded ; but it does not appear for what particular period of Indian History they are indebted to it for information. The only knowledge I have of it is derived from the account of Sir W. Ouseley, who describes it thus:—

“The Zainu-l-Akhbár is a very curious and extraordinary work ; containing the ancient history of Persia, of the Jewish, Christian, Magian and Hindú religious fasts and ceremonies, Annals of the Muhammedan kings and Khalífas, Geographical notices, anecdotes, and chronological tables,” &c.

“A most valuable work in illustrating the history and antiquities of Asia Of this excellent work I have never seen another copy”\*

Size—small Folio—containing 527 pages

\* See Sir W. Ouseley's *Oriental Manuscripts*, No 701, and *Eptome of the Anc Hist. of Persia*, p vii

## VI.

## تاریخ ہند

## TĀRĪKH-I HIND.

Hájí Khalfa mentions (No. 2340) a work under this title, composed by Muhammed bin Yúsuf Hirwí. He says that it contains an account of the notable things in the country of Hind, and he adds—"to this Title are to be referred the histories of New West India, which a late author has translated into Turkí from the lingua franca, with additions. In it he has given a full account of the country known by the name of Yangí Dunyá, "the new world." The Táríkh-i Hind is no doubt the same work as "Rísála-i-Ajáib wa Gharáib-i-Hindustán," since the author of that treatise also bears the name of Muhammed Yúsuf Hirwí.

It is probably the same Táríkh-i-Hind which is quoted in the Táríkh-i-Alfí, the Habíbu-s-Sıyar, and the Nafahátu-l-Ins. As the two last in their quotation from the Táríkh-i-Hind show the author to have been contemporary with, and to have conversed with, Khwája Hasan Dehlví, who was a disciple of Nízamu-Dín Ahmad, he must have flourished about the beginning of the eighth century of the Hıjı, for Nízamu-Dín died A. H. 725.

## VII

## روضه الصفا

## RAUZATU-S-SAFĀ

The full title of this work is “ Rauzatu-s-Safā fi Sairatu-l-Ambiā wau-l-Mulúk wau-l Khul-fā, “ the garden of purity, containing the history of Prophets, Kings, and Khalifs ” It was composed by Mírkhond, or more correctly Mír Kháwend, whose true name at length is Muhammed bin Kháwend Sháh bin Mahmúd He was born towards the close of the year 836 H , or the beginning of 837—A D 1432, 33.

We gather some few particulars of him and of his family from the account of his patron, the minister Alí Sher and of his son Khondemír The father of Mírkhond was Sayad Burhānu-din Kháwend Sháh, a native of Máwaráu-n-nahar, who traced his pedigree to Hasan, the son of Alí. When his father died, Kháwend Sháh was young, and being compelled by circumstances to abandon his country, he fixed his residence in the town of Balkh, where he indulged himself in the study of literature and science, and after an intermediate residence at Herát, returned to Balkh and died there.

Of Mírkhond himself very little is known When he was only thirteen years of age he accompanied his father on a political embassy,

which was not only entirely unsuccessful, but the negotiators were unfortunately pillaged by the Turks and deprived of every thing they took with them. On another occasion, he tells us, that he was on a hunting expedition, when for leaving his post to join in mid-day prayer, he was reprimanded by some of the royal servants, and was so much alarmed at the reproaches and at the extortions to which he was exposed in consequence, that he fell ill and remained in a bad state for seven days. "Frightful dreams troubled him during the night, and before his departure the humble author of this history took God to witness, and vowed that on no account would he ever be induced to join another hunting expedition."

These luckless adventures seemed to have indisposed him towards an active and public life, and he devoted himself early to literature. His son tells us, that Mirkhond having employed his early life in acquiring all that was attainable in Eastern science, in which he soon outstripped all his contemporaries, he applied himself with equal assiduity and success to the study of history. "Through the seductions of a convivial disposition, however, and too unrestrained an intercourse with the votaries of pleasure, it never occurred to him to engage in the labours of composition, until by the goodness of Providence and the influence of his better destiny, he found means to be introduced to the excellent Alí Sher, from whom he immediately experienced every mark of kindness and

encouragement.” He assigned to Mirkhond apartments in the Kháukáh Akhlásía, a building erected by him “to serve as a retreat and asylum to men of merit distinguished by their attainments,” and cheered him with intellectual converse when exhausted with the labours of composition

Alí Sher himself, in the biographical article which he devotes to Mirkhond, vaunts in pompous terms the distinguished talents of the historian, and greatly applauds himself for having by his counsels and urgent remonstrances overcome the modesty of this honorable man, and for having thus contributed to enrich Persian Literature with a production so remarkable as the *Rauzatu-s-Safā*

A great portion of this work was composed on a bed of sickness, and the author has himself given a painful account of the circumstances under which he was compelled to write. It is fortunate that writing was found rather to relieve than aggravate his disease. “I wrote all, chapter by chapter, lying on my right side, and because of the violent pains I felt in my loins, I was not able to write a single page sitting down. Clever physicians assured me that this occupation would relieve me of the malady, or at least prevent its becoming worse. If on any night I happened to neglect my usual labour, and wished to abandon myself to repose, I had troublesome dreams, woke up in affright, or an excessive heat came over me which prevented my sleeping. If, on the con-

trary, I set myself to write as usual, I had a good sleep and agreeable dreams ”

For a whole twelve month before his death he gave himself up entirely to religious duties, while his malady increased upon him every day, and after a lingering illness he expired in the month Zilk'ad, 903. corresponding with June 1498—aged sixty-six years

There is no Oriental work that stands higher in public estimation than the *Rauzatu-s-Safá*. The author has availed himself of no less than nineteen Arabic, and twenty-two Persian Histories, besides others which he occasionally quotes. His work forms the basis of many other compilations, and the greater portion of Háji Khalfá's History may be considered to be founded upon it. It must be confessed, however, that the *Rauzatu-s-Safá* is very unequal in its execution, some portions being composed in great detail, and others more compendiously. It is most copious in what concerns the kings of Persia

#### CONTENTS.

Introduction On the study of History in general, and its advantages, especially to Rulers

Book I.—Gives an account of the Creation of the world, and of the Deluge ; details the lives of the Patriarchs and Prophets and contains the ancient History of Persia, to the conquest of that country by the Muhammedans, A. D 636, the life of Alexander and several Grecian Philosophers —339 pages

Book II —Details the History of Muhammad and the four first Khalífs, Abúbakr, Omar, Osmán and Ali, with a particular account of their conquests to A. D. 664.—368 pages

Book III.—Contains the lives of the twelve Imáms This section comprises also the History of the Ummayyide and Abbáside Khalífs —232 pages.

Book IV —Includes Memoirs of the Dynasties of Tahirides, Saffarides, Sâmánides, Búyides, Saljúkides, Ghaznevîdes, Ghorians Atábaks, &c who reigned over Persia, Transoxiana, Irák, &c from about the year 800 to 1263 A D —pages 293

Book V —Presents the History of the celebrated conqueror Changez Khán, who was born A. D 1154, and died at the age of 73 also Memoirs of his descendants, who reigned over Irán and Túrán till A D 1335 —pages 253

Book VI —Exhibits the History of Timúr, also of his sons and successors to the year 1426 —pages 408

Book VII —In this section are preserved the Memoirs of Sultán Husain Mirzá Abú-l-Ghází Bahádar, fourth in descent from Timúr, who reigned with great repute over Khorásán for thirty-four years and died A. D 1505 —pages 166

Conclusion —Contains a description of the city of Herát (then the capital of Khorásán) and of several other places of that kingdom —pages 75

SIZE—Folio, 2 Vols containing respectively 939 and 1195 pages, of 29 lines each.

This accords with the Table of Contents given by the author himself, and copied by Stewart in his “*Catalogue of Típu Sultán's Library* ;” but differs from the Latin Catalogue of the MSS of Erpenius, at p. 27 of the Appendix to “*Hottingeri Promptuarium*”

A very full list of Contents will be found in the “*Vienna Jahrbucher*” Nos lxi. and lxx. *Anzeige-Blatt*, where the Rubrics of the entire work are given.

M Jourdain, in his elaborate article in the ixth Vol of “*Notices et extraits des MSS*” observes that additions were subsequently made to the seventh book by the author's son Khondemír, because the author died A H 903, and events are recorded in it of A H 911 He consequently is disposed to ascribe the whole book to another hand; but Sir W. Ouseley (*Travels*, II 397) is of opinion that Mírkhond wrote át



least the first part of that book His son Khondemír distinctly observes, that of his father's work the seventh book remained incomplete for want of materials, or, as has been suggested, more probably through the delicacy of engaging in a narrative of the passing events of the reign of Abú-l-Ghází. This omission he pledged himself at a future period to supply, should the requisite materials be procurable, and heaven be propitious to his hopes This he accordingly did, and the seventh book is composed of extracts taken from the *Habíbu-s-Siyar*, and contains the biography of Mirkhond The preface leaves it very doubtful whether any portion of the seventh book was written by Mirkhond, for the names of both father and son occur in it in a very strange combination

The Conclusion, or Geographical Appendix, is more rarely to be found than the other portions. In this also there are several interpolations by Khondemír. There is an excellent copy of it in the Asiatic Society's Library.

We have no entire translation of this work, but at different times and in different languages several portions of the History have been made available to the European reader. The early volumes of the "*Modern Universal History*" derive the history of Persia from the *Rauzatu-s-Safá*,—a portion of the work which has been attributed by some to Dr. Hunt, by others to George Psalmanazar.

Major Pice has used the *Rauzatu-s-Safá* more copiously than any other work in his "*Re-*

*Prospect of Mahom. History,*" and in his "*Hist of Arabia*" The substance of a great portion of the history has been presented by Pedro Texeira, a learned Spaniard, in his "*Relacion de los Reyes de Persia*," and more accurately in a French work entitled "*Les Etats, Empires, et Principautés du Monde*." Paris 1662. A translation was published at Paris subsequently by Cotelendi, in 1681, which is characterized in the "*Biographie Universelle*" as "*assez mauvaise*" It was translated into Italian by Alfonso Lasoi, and into English by Capt. J. Stevens, in 1715

A portion of Book IV was edited at Vienna in 1782 by M. Jenisch, with a Latin Translation, under the title of "*Historia priorum Regum Persarum post finitum in Regno Islamismum, Persice et Latine, cum notis geographicis et litterariis*"

Some copious extracts are given in the "*Origines Russes*," St Petersburg, 1825

M de Sacy has translated the History of the Sássánians M Wilken that of the Sámánides in Latin, and that of the Búides or Deilemites in German, besides several extracts in his "*Chrestomathia Persica*" M Jourdain that of the Ismaílites, or Assassins M Mitscherlich that of the Táherides Mr David Shea that of the Peshdádians and early kings of Persia, down to Alexander the Great Dr Vulleis has published a German translation of that of the Saljúks, as well as an edition of the original Some of these translations, and one or two others, receive a more detailed notice at

p 105 of the "*Bibliotheca Orientalis*" of Zenker, Leipzig, 1846.

The portion of this History relating to the Ghaznevīdes and Ghorians is all that demands here our more particular notice. The former has been well edited, with a Latin Translation, by Wilken\* in one Vol. 4to. Berlin 1832 He has given various readings, and enriched his translation with notes, in which he has compared the narrative of his authors with that of Ferishta, and the chronicle of Haidar Rází, still leaving however much to be explained respecting the marches and expeditions of Mahmūd.

The History of the Ghorians was translated into Latin by Dr. Mitscherlich, 1818, 8vo under the title of "*Mirchondi Historia Ghuridarum.*" A great part of it has also been translated by Dr. Bernhard Dorn, in his annotations to the "*History of the Afghans.*" And M. Dufrémary has lately given us a French translation in the "*Journal Asiatique.*"\*

#### EXTRACT.

Sultán Mas'úd having reached Ghazní in a state of great distraction and embarrassment, imprisoned certain of the chief officers of the state, and put some of them to death under the suspicion of their having misconducted themselves in the war

\* Compare Silvestre de Sacy, *Mem sur div Antiq &c*, Wilken, *Instit ad fund ling Pers.*; *Chrestomath Notices et Extr des MSS* Tom v pp 192—229 ix pp 117—274, Price, *Retrospect of Muham History*, Vol. iv p 656 *Journ d Savants*, 1837, pp 719—729, 1843, pp 170—185 and 385—403, 1845, p 383, 1847, pp 162—180 *Wien Jahrbücher*, No lxxvi, p. 227, *Nouv J As* Tom xi pp 179—182 *J Asiatique*, 4th series, Tom iii pp 258—291 *Fundgruben d Or* Vol iii p 330 vi 269 *As Journal*, Vol xxvi pp 228—237, Casiri, *Bibl Arab. Hist* Vol ii p. 68 *Gesch d. Gold Horde* p xxiv

with the Saljúkís, and despatched towards Balkh his son, named Maudúd, at the head of a detachment of his army, accompanied by Wazír Abú Nasr Ahmad, son of Muhammed, son of Abdu-samad, while he himself attended by his brother Muhammed Makhúl,<sup>†</sup> and the sons of the latter, named Ahmad Abdu-r-rahmán, and Abdu-r-rahím, as well as by all his relatives, proceeded to Hindustán with a view to pass the cold season there, and at the commencement of spring, to march with a large army on Khorásán, for the purpose of expelling the Saljúkís. After Sultán Mas'úd had crossed the Indus, the royal treasure, which was in his rear on the other side of the river, was plundered by Noshtigín, and the household troops of the Sultán, who afterwards waited upon Muhammed Makhúl, and did him homage as their Sovereign.

On his refusing to comply with their request to ascend the throne, they said that with a view to the advancement of his interests they had committed a crime in plundering the treasure, and threatened at the same time, that in the event of his non-compliance, they would put him to death, and enter into an understanding with some other chief. Muhammed Makhúl was thus compelled to agree to their demands, and crossing the river with him, they fought a battle against Mas'úd. The army of Mas'úd, which was very small, was defeated, and he was compelled to take shelter in a neighbouring Sarái. He was at length apprehended, and brought into the presence of his brother, who assured him that he had no intention to take his life, but on the contrary, to assign him any place which he might select to reside in with his family.

Mas'úd chose the Fort of Karí,<sup>‡</sup> to which place Muhammed sent him and all his family, and set a guard over them.

It is said that when Mas'úd was about to set out for that fort, he begged of Muhammed a certain sum to meet his expenses. The parsimonious<sup>‡</sup> Muhammed sent him only 500 Dirhams, on the receipt of which Mas'úd wept and exclaimed, "Yesterday I could command three thousand loads of treasure, but to-day I have not a single Dirham which I can call my own."

Upon this, the bearer of the 500 Dirhams gave to Mas'úd 1000 Dínárs out of his own private resources. This liberal act led to the prosperity of the donor, who met with his reward in the reign of Maudúd, son of Mas'úd.

\* Makhúl means "deprived of his eyesight," for he had been blinded by order of Mas'úd.—The only meaning which Richardson gives to this word is, "Anointed with collyrium."

† Abú-l-fedá reads Kendí and Kaidí (Reiske, in 669) Haidar Rázi has Bakar, Wilken's printed edition and the Bombay lithographed edition may be read either Kabrí or Kubra.

‡ Wilken translates "mera ex neigentia."

As Muhammed had been deprived of the blessing of sight, he left the administration of the country to his son Ahmad, and reserved for himself merely the name of king Ahmad, whose mind was somewhat deranged, in concert with the son of Yûsuf Sabuktigin, and with the son of Alî Khesháwand, went to the fort of Karí, and without the consent of Muhammed, put Mas'ûd to death, which circumstance afflicted Muhammed very much

Some say that Ahmad instigated his father to procure the death of Mas'ûd

Mas'ûd reigned 9 years and 11 months He was brave, affable, generous, and fond of the company of the learned, whom he placed under manifold obligations to him, on which account many authors dedicated their works to him.



The names of these authors are not given by Mírkhond, but two are named in the Habíbu-s-Siyar and Ferishta. One of them is the famous Abú Ríhán al Bírúní Briggs (*Ferishta*, I. 113) has strangely perverted the name, translating it as Anvury Khan, but the Persian original, lithographed at Bombay, gives it correctly. As this author is so frequently mentioned in the first portion of this volume, a short notice of him is appended.†

There are several Manuscripts of the Rauzat-u-s-Safá in India and in Europe, but few are perfect. M. Jourdain, in his article in Tom. IX of *Notices et extraits des MSS* quotes no less than eight different copies, and the prefaces to the several translations noticed above give an account of several valuable MSS

\* Wilken translates "neque regis dignitatis nomen retinuit" He reads *بیس* instead of *بدش* which latter reading is shown to be correct by the word *ریادة* in his MS marked D.

† See Note B

which contain portions of the Rauzatu-s-Safā in the different Libraries of Europe The one lithographed at Bombay in 1848, in two Folio Volumes, is the most perfect copy known to me It contains the seventh Book and the Conclusion The execution of so labourious and expensive an undertaking reflects great credit on the Native Press of Bombay, but it is to be regretted that the work was not critically edited, with notices of the Variants

The initial words are —

رب مهرست نسخه معاصر انبیاء عالی مکان و ریت دیناچه  
مجموعه مآثر سلاطین گردون توان شکر مدعیست که مبدع عالم  
نواب برحوان احسان اودواله ایست و رشحات سرچشمه حیات

and the final words are .—

ودراوان تعب و سوز بمقتضی کما تموتون تحسرون او را با  
صدیقین و ارباب یقین محسور گردان پادشاهها پروردگار بارها گفته آم  
و بار دیگر میگودم

بیت

دران ساعت که ماهستیم وهونی رحسایش ورو مگذار موئی



## NOTE B.

*Abú Rihán al Birúni*

Abú Rihán\* Muhammed bin Ahmad al Birúni al Khawárazmí, was born† about A. H 360, A. D 970-1. He was an Astronomer, Geometrician, Historian, Scholar and Logician. He was so studious that Shamsu-d-dín Muhammed Shahrázúrí, his earliest biographer, tells us "he never had a pen out of his hand, nor his eye ever off a book, and his thoughts were always directed to his studies, with the exception of

\* Rihán would be more correct, according to the *Kámús*

† The place of his birth is very doubtful. His earliest biographer is Shahrázúrí, who in his *Tawárikh-i Hukamá*, written shortly after Birúni's death, says that he was born at Birún, in Sind, "a beautiful city full of excellent and marvellous things." He has been followed by Háji Khalfa, by Ibn Abí Ossaibr'ah, and by Abú-l-fedá, on the authority of Ibn Saíd. M. Renaud also states that he was a Sindian. Yet, where is this city of Birún in Sind? There is a Nirún, or Nirún Kot, near the site of the present city of Haidarábád, corresponding in position with the Birun indicated by Abú-l-fedá, which probably has had its first letter altered by a transposition of the vowel point. But M. Renaud (p. 195) is distinct in condemning Capt MacMurdo and other English writers who, following Edrisí, read Nirún for Birún. Abú-l-fedá's reading cannot be disputed, for he not only gives, but describes the nature of, the diacritical point, and all that can be said against him is that he never was in India, and derived his information from others. (See *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, texte Arabe, p. 348.)

In the *Kitábu-l-Ansáb* by Sam'aní, a book of very great authority, written A. H 562, A. D 1166, Birúni is derived from the Persian, and made to apply to any one born out of Khawarazm. Some authorities distinctly assert that he was born at Birún, a town of Khawarazm, but I know not if the existence of such a town has been established. If Birúni was really born in Sind, it is curious that in his Indian Geography he takes so little notice of his native country, and omits all mention of the town of his birth. Thus, though there is much improbability in his being a Sindian, it is difficult to dispute the authorities on which he is stated to be one.

two days in the year, namely Nauroz and Mihr-ján, when he was occupied, according to the command of the Prophet, in procuring the necessaries of life on such a moderate scale as to afford him bare sustenance and clothing."

He travelled into different countries to improve his knowledge, and is said to have staid forty years in India, but if we may judge from some errors which he has committed in his geographical description of the country, such as placing Muttra to the east of the Jumna, and Thanesar in the Dúáb, as already noticed in the Article BINA'KITÍ', it would appear that he never travelled to the east of Lahore. He was indebted to the Sultán of Khawárazm for the opportunity of visiting India, for he was appointed by him to accompany the embassies which he sent to Mahmúd and Mas'úd, kings of Ghazní and Lahore. Al-farábí and Abú-l-khair joined one of these embassies, but the famous Avicenna, who was invited to accompany them, refused to go, being, as it is said, averse to enter into controversy with Abú Rihán, with whom he differed on many points of science, and whose logical powers he feared to encounter. Abú Rihán died in A. H. 430, A. D. 1038-9.

He wrote many works, and is said to have executed several translations from the Greek, and epitomised the Almagest of Ptolemy. His works are said to have exceeded a camel-load, insomuch that it was supposed by devout Muhammedans that he received divine aid in his



compositions. Those most spoken of are astronomical tables, a treatise on precious stones, an introduction to astrology, treatise on chronology, and the famous Cánún-i Mas'údí, a geographical work frequently cited by Abú-l-fedá especially in his tables of Lat. and Long.

For this last work he received from the Emperor Mas'úd an elephant-load of silver which, however, he returned to the Royal Treasury. "a proceeding contrary to human nature, according to the testimony of Shahrazúrí Reiske in the Supplement to the *Bibl. Or.* gives the names of his works on the authority of Abí Ossaibi'ah. It will be seen hereafter that Abú-l-Fazl Baihakí attributes to him another work, noticed by M. Fraehn (*Indic Bibl* p 28) namely, a "history of Khawárazm," and there is a manuscript of some portions of his works noticed by M. Hœnel, as existing in the Library of the Arsenal in Paris, which has not, as far as I am aware of, yet attracted any attention. It would appear to be the same as the one noticed by D Herbelot. in the Article *Athar*. See Hœnel, *Catalogi Librorum MSS.* &c. p. 325.

But to the cultivator of Indian History the most valuable of all his works is the *Tárikhu-l-Hind*, an Arabic manuscript in the Royal Library, Paris. (Fonds Ducaurroy, No. 22.) Two chapters have been given from this work by M. Reinaud, in his "*Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatifs à l'Inde, antérieurement au xi<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'ère Chrétienne.*" It is evident

from the references made to other portions of the work that the learned professor of Arabic could not have done a more acceptable service to oriental literature than by persuading M Munk, an able Arabic and Sanscrit scholar, to publish and translate the entire work, which we are informed is now in the press. It is not known at all in India, and M Reinaud states that it is not mentioned in any of the bibliographical works in Arabic which have come under his observation.

The work treats of the literature and science of the Indians at the commencement of the eleventh century. It does not bear the name of the author, but we learn from it, that he accompanied Mahmúd of Ghazní; that he resided many years in India, chiefly in all probability in the Panjáb, studied the Sanscrit language, translated into it some works from the Arabic, and translated from it two treatises into Arabic. This statement is confirmed by Abú-l-faiaj, in his "Catalogue of Ancient and Modern authors." One of the treatises translated by him has the title of Patanjali. He says, towards the end of his preface, "I have translated into Arabic two Indian works, one discusses the origin and quality of things which exist, and is entitled Sankya, the other is known under the title of Patanjali, which treats of the deliverance of the soul from the trammels of the body. These two works contain the chief principles of the Indian creed."

Neither the original nor the translation of

Patanjalí has descended to us ; but, as M Reinaud observes, the declaration quoted in the preceding paragraph serves to indicate the author of the *Tárikhu-l-Hind*, which other circumstances would have rendered extremely probable. It so happens that in the lately discovered fragments of Rashídu-d-dín's history he quotes as one of the works to which he is indebted for his information, an Arabic version of Patanjali made by al-Bírúní. Bínákítí also not only mentions this translation of the work, which he calls Patanjali, but says that Bírúní included the translation in the *Cánún-i-Mas'údí*, which would make it appear that the *Tárikhu-l-Hind* originally formed part of that work \*

The two chapters of his work, edited by M Reinaud, relate to the Eras and Geography of India. Like the Chinese travels of Fa-hian, they establish another fixed epoch to which we can refer for the determination of several points relating to the chronology of this country. We learn from them that the *Harivansa Purána*, which the most accomplished orientalists have hitherto ascribed to a period not

\* M Reinaud (p. 97) says of this work that "unfortunately it has not come down to us." It appears to have escaped him that nearly the entire first volume exists in the Bodleian Library, collated with the autograph of the author, and dated as far back as A D 1083. The contents of that volume are given in Drs Nicoll's and Pusey's Catalogue, and they seem to confirm the probability that the "*Tárikhu-l-Hind*" is only a portion of the "*Cánún-i-Mas'údí*." In the notes to that article the learned Doctors have surely taken very unnecessary trouble to write elaborate remarks upon *Arín*, اریں, which can be no other place than Ujain, in Malwa, which by the first Arabic authors was most probably written اریں, as being more in conformity with Ptolemy, who calls it by the name of 'Οζήνη.

anterior to the eleventh century, was already quoted in Bírúní's time as a standard authority, and that the epoch of the composition of the five Siddhántas no longer admits of question, and thus the theories of Anquetil du Peiron and Bentley are demolished for ever.\*

The extract from Táríkhul-Hind given below is of great historical interest. The succession of the last princes of Cábul given there, though not in accordance with the statements of Mírkhond and other Persian historians, yet being dependent on the contemporary testimony of Bírúní, is of course more trustworthy than that of subsequent compilers, and is moreover confirmed by the Jámiu-t Tawáíkh. With respect to this table of succession, the ingenuity of the French Editor induced him to surmise that it probably represented a series of Bráhmaṇ princes who succeeded in subverting a Buddhist dynasty of Turks, and to whom should be attributed certain coins of a peculiar type which Numismatists had previously some difficulty in assigning to their true masters. M A Longpérier has confirmed this opinion by certain arguments which have been printed as an Appendix to M Renaud's work, and he has been ably followed by Mr E Thomas, B C S, who has published a paper in the "*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol

\* Compare Sprenger's *Mas'údí*, p 154. Casiri, *Biblioth Arabico-Hispana*, Tom i p 322. D'Herbelot, *Bibl Or* Tom i pp 45, 407, 496, and Tom iv pp 697, 722. Greg. *Abulfarragii Hist Dynast.* p 229. Wustenfeld, *Abulfeda Tab Geogr* p 77. *Biographie Univ* s v. De Rossi, *Dizionario Storico degli Autori Arabi*, s v. Nicoll and Pusey, *Bodl Cod MSS Or Cat Arab* pp 263 360—363 552. Hugel, *De Interpretibus*, No 76. Wustenfeld, *Arabische Texte* No 129.

ix p 194) respecting the proper attribution of this series. The result is that we are able to trace Bráhmaṇ kings of Cábul to the beginning of the tenth century, about A. D. 920, and thus clear up the mist which enveloped a whole century of the Indian annals previous to Malimúd's invasion.

In the same paper Mr. Thomas observes that the word Hamíra, so long supposed to be a proper name, and so eagerly sought for among the Hindú kings of India, proves to be an abbreviation of the full title of the Khalif of Baghdád,—*Amír-ul-Múmenín*,—continued by the Muhammedans in this curtailed form from the Arabic reverses of their own Ghazní money, when they adopted the style of coin found current in the countries they had subdued. "The abbreviation of the full titles of the Khalif into *Srí Hamíra* will be seen," says Mr. Thomas, "to be necessary, as the space occupied by the device did not admit of the introduction of many more Hindí letters of the size it was the custom to employ." But this supposed abbreviation is disproved by examining the gold coins of Muhammed Ghorí, on one of which, in possession of Capt. A. Cunningham, *Srí Hamí* is ascribed as the title of the king, not of the Khalif. The legend on one side only (not on two sides) is *Srí Hamír Muhammed Sámi*. On the copper coins *Srí Hamír* is on the reverse, but the purport of the expression is fully shown by the position it occupies on the gold coins. The legend of *Srí Samant Deo* on many of this

series of coins, upon which so much stress is laid, as indicative of Samant's power as one of the chief founders of the dynasty, does not seem to have reference to that prince, but to be an honorary title assumed by the reigning prince, meaning the "fortunate warrior," otherwise it certainly would not have been stamped on the coins of Pūthī Rāj, who lived 250 years later, and was not, like Samant, a Bráhmaṇ, but a Chauhán Rájput, and proud of his lineage.

#### EXTRACT

Cábul was formerly governed by Princes of the Turkish race. It is said that they were originally from Tibet. The first of them, who was named Barkatzúr, dwelt, when he arrived at Cábul, in a cave, in which no one could enter except by crawling on all fours. The cave contained a spring, and he provided himself therein with food for some days. This cave is now well known by the name of Bakar, and is entered by those persons who wish to obtain the blessing which a visit to it is supposed to confer, and bring out some of the water, not without much difficulty. Groups of peasants used to labour near the entrance of the cave. Such a thing (as remaining in the cave without food) could not be practised without the connivance of some one. The people who were in league with Barkatzúr, engaged the peasants to labour without ceasing, relieving each other night and day, by which it happened that the place was constantly surrounded. After some days, Barkatzúr came all of a sudden out of the cave,\* and the men who were near the entrance saw him appear as one just born, clothed as a Turk, with a tunic, cap, boots, and armed from head to foot. He was looked upon as a wondrous person, and destined for empire. So he rendered himself master of the

\* He seems to have imposed upon the credulous people by the same means which are even now practised in the west of India. Lieut. Boileau in his "*Personal narrative of a tour in Rajwarra*," and Capt. Osborne in his "*Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing*," give an account of a man who allowed himself to be interred for a month. The former is circumstantial in his account, and seems to yield faith to the statement of his narrators. It is not improbable that the ancients alluded to this practice when they spoke of Indians who lived without food and in caves. Aulus Gellius speaks of them as "*gentem, apud extrema Indre nullo cibitu rescentem*." *Noct. Att.* ix. 4. See also Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* iii. 45. Ctesiae, *Indic. Excerpt.* xiii.

kingdom of Cabul, which continued in his family for sixty generations

The Indians attach little importance to the sequence of events, and neglect to record the dates of the reigns of their kings. When they are embarrassed, they are silent. I will here mention what I have heard some people of the country say. It is true, according to what I have heard, that the succession of these reigns was written on a piece of silk, which was found in the fortress of Nagarkote. I vehemently desired to read this writing, but different circumstances prevented me.

Among the number of these kings was Kanak,\* who founded the Vihār at Peshāwar, which bears his name. It is said that the Rāi of Canauj offered to this prince, among other presents, a piece of cloth of excellent texture, and of a new kind, of which Kanak wished to make a dress. But the tailor refused to make up the garment, saying, "I see the figure of a human foot, and notwithstanding all my endeavours, still the foot will come between the shoulders." This bears a relation to the story which I have elsewhere narrated in the legend of Bal.

Kanak understood that the Rāi of Canauj intended to insult him, and to evince the small estimation in which he held him, so Kanak departed quickly with his army towards Canauj. At this news the Rāi of Canauj was greatly embarrassed, not finding himself in a position to contend with the king of Cabul. He consulted with his minister, who said, "you have roused a man who was peaceably disposed, and an 'untoward act' has been committed. Now cut off my nose and hips, and mutilate me, that I may search out a way of practising some artifice, since there are no means of open resistance."

The Rāi did as his minister advised, and allowed him to depart to the frontier. When the army of Cabul met the minister, he made himself known, and was conducted to the presence of Kanak, who demanded of him how he was reduced to that (pitiable) condition. He replied, "I endeavoured to dissuade the Rāi from contending with you, and recommended him to make his submission, but, charging me with collusion, he mutilated me. If you march by the road which lies before you, you will find it long. You will more easily arrive at your destruction by encountering the difficulties of the desert between him and us, provided you can carry with you a supply of water for a few days." Kanak said, "this is easy." So he took with him water, as recommended, and was guided on his way by the minister, who preceded him when he entered the boundless desert. When some days had elapsed, and the king knew not his way, he en-

\* Capt A Cunningham states in a private communication that he hopes to be able to prove this Kanak of Birūni to be identical with the Kamshka of the Bactrian coins, the Kani-ka of the Chinese, and the Kanaksen, from whom many Rajput families trace their lineage.

quired of the minister, who replied, "No rebuke can attach to me for seeking to secure the safety of my master, and the destruction of his enemy. The nearest way to escape from the desert is that by which you entered it. Do to me as you wish, but none of you can escape alive from this desert." At these words Kanak mounted his horse, and urged it towards some low ground, in the midst of which he dug his spear, and water gushed out from it, which sufficed for the present and future wants of the whole army. Then the minister said to the king, "I did not intend to practice deceit upon powerful angels, but only upon weak men, and since things have so turned out, accept my intercession, and pardon my gracious master." Kanak replied, "I now retrace my way, and grant your solicitation. Your master has already received the punishment due to him." Upon this the king returned to his country, and the minister to his master the Rái. But on his arrival, he found that the Rái had been deprived of the use of his feet and hands, on the self-same day that Kanak had planted his spear in the ground.

The last of these kings was Laktúzamán, and his minister was Kalar, a Bráhmaṇ. \* \* \* Laktúzamán's thoughts and actions were evil, so that many complaints reached the minister, who loaded him with chains and imprisoned him for his correction. \* \* \* So he established himself on the throne, and was succeeded by the Bráhmaṇ Samand, whose successor was Kamlúa, whose successor was Bhím, whose successor was Jaipál, whose successor was Anand Pál, whose successor was Naradjanpál, who ascended the throne A. H. 412. His son, Bhím Pál, succeeded him after the lapse of five years, and under him the sovereignty of India became extinct, and no descendant remained to light a fire on the hearth. These princes, notwithstanding the extent of their dominions, were endowed with excellent qualities, faithful to their engagements, and gracious towards their inferiors. The letter which Anand Pál wrote to Amir Mahmúd, at the time enmity existed between them, is much to be admired. "I have heard that the Turks have invaded your dominions. if you desire it, I will join you with 5,000 Cavalry, 10,000 Infantry, and 100 Elephants, but if you prefer it, I will send my son with twice the number. In making this proposal, I do not wish to ingratiate myself with you. Though I have vanquished you, I do not desire that any one else but myself should obtain the ascendancy."\* This prince was a determined enemy of the Musulmáns from the time that his son Naradjanpál was taken prisoner, but his son was, on the contrary, well disposed towards them.

\* This is translated somewhat differently by M. Remond, but the version here given seems more in conformity with the original Arabic.



## VIII.

## خلاصة الاخبار

## KHULASATU-L-AKHBAR

This work may be considered an abridgment of the *Rauzatu-s-Safá*. It was written by Mírkhond's son, Khondemír, whose full name is Ghaiásu-d-Dín Muhammed bin Humámu-d-Dín.\*

Khondemír was born at Herát about the year 880 H. for he states in the Preface to the *Habíbu-s-Siyar*, that when he commenced it in the year 927 H. he had advanced through seven or eight stages beyond the fortieth year of his life.

From his early youth he showed a predilection for history, and perused with indefatigable ardour books which treated of that science; and guided by the example and advice of his illustrious father, he prepared himself for the composition of some work by which he might attain equal celebrity. In this purpose he was assisted by the learned minister Ali Sher,† who, having collected a valuable library of the most esteemed works, placed our author

\* I am not aware that Mírkhond was ever called by the name of Humámu-d-Dín during his life time. It might have been an honorific title given after his death. It is perhaps the use of this name which has made some authors suppose that Khondemír was not a son, but a nephew, of Mírkhond.

† See note C.

in charge of it According to Hájí Khalfa, it was about the year 900\* H that Khondemír completed the Khulásatu-l-Akhhár, and at the close of it he gratefully acknowledges that, had it not been for Alí Sher's considerate kindness in placing him in charge of the library, he could not have completed in six years a tenth part of what he had concluded in as many months, and to that excellent minister he gratefully dedicated his work.

Khondemír was occasionally employed in a public capacity In the year 909 H. when Sultán Badí'u-z-Zamán, resolved on repelling the Uzbeks, who were preparing to make an attack upon Khorásán, under the command of Muhammed Shaibání Khán, he despatched an embassy to Khusrú Sháh, the chief of Kundúz, in order to invite him to join the common cause, and to second the preparations which were making for the destruction of this formidable enemy Our author joined this embassy, and was deputed by the head of the mission to convey certain important intelligence to the Sultán

Under the reign of this Sultán, the last of the descendants of Timúr who sat on the throne of Persia, we find Khondemír appointed to the office of Sadr, or judge of the ecclesiastical court, a post which had been held by his uncle Nízámud-Dín Sultán Ahmad; and shortly after he was commissioned by the Sultán to proceed to Candahár, to induce its ruler to join the general

\* But the author himself quotes A H 904 —A D 1498—in his Preface, as the time when Alí Sher's Library was placed at his disposal

league; but the death of one of the Sultán's daughters at that time put a stop to his journey. Khorásán was soon invaded by the Uzbeks, and in the year 913, the capital itself, not being able to make any effectual resistance, offered terms of submission. Khondemír drew up the conditions, and his nephew was commissioned to negotiate the surrender.

Under the rule of the Uzbeks our author had to submit to great indignities, and he was not sorry to see it overthrown by the victorious arms of Sháh Ism'íl in 916, H. During the troubles of this period he went to reside at Basht, a village in Georgia, and there devoted his leisure to literary pursuits. While in this retreat he seems to have composed the *Másiru-l-Malúk*, the *Akhbáru-l-Akhyár*, the *Dastúru-l-Vuzra*,\* the *Makárimu-l-Akhlák* and the *Muntakhab Tárikh-i-Wassáf*.†

After the death of this monarch A. H. 932, Khondemír seems to have found little inducement to reside in Persia, for in the year 935 H he was introduced to the emperor Báber at Agra, and that monarch and our author concur in

\* This is not an uncommon work in India, forming a 4to Volume containing 234 pages of 19 lines each. Another of the same nature, entitled *Irshádu-l-Vuzra*, is by Sadru-d-dín Muhammed, written in India in the reign of Muhammed Sháh.

† These works are mentioned as the author's in the Preface to the *Habíbu-s-Siyar*. The *Akhbáru-l-Akhyár*, which is also the name of a work on the Saints by Abdu-l-Hakk Dehlví, is in the copy consulted by M. Quatremère, and in one I obtained from Haiderábád, but omitted from three other copies which I have examined, and in which the two last works mentioned in the text are added. I have seen also another work ascribed to Khondemír, called the *Gharáibu-l-Asrár*. These, together with the *Jawáhiru-l-Akhbár* and the *Habíbu-s-Siyar*, which are noticed in the two succeeding Articles, are a sufficient evidence of our author's industry, as well as of the versatility of his talents.

mentioning the very day of the interview At the conclusion of the first volume of the *Habíbu-s-Siyar* he tells us, “Under the unavoidable law of destiny, the writer was compelled in the middle of Shawál 933, H to leave Herát, his dear home (may it ever be protected from danger!) and bend his steps towards Candahár On the 10th of Jamádu-s-sání, 934 H he undertook a hazardous journey to Hindústán, which, in consequence of the great distance, the heat of the weather, the setting in of the rainy season, and the broad and rapid rivers which intervened, it took him seven months to complete On Saturday, the 4th of Muharram, 935 H he reached the metropolis of Agra, and on that day had the good fortune to strengthen his weak eyes with the antimonial dust of the high threshold of the Emperor, the mention of whose name in so humble a page as this would not be in conformity with the principles of respect. He was allowed without delay to kiss the celestial throne, which circumstance exalted him so much, that it placed the very foot of his dignity over the heads of the Great and Little Bears in the Heavens ”

He accompanied the Emperor on his expedition to Bengál, and upon his death attached himself to Humáyún, in whose name he wrote the *Kanún-ı Humáyúnı*, which is quoted by Abú-l-Fazl in the *Akbernáma* He accompanied that monarch to Guzerát, and died in his camp in the year 941 H. aged 61 or 62 years At his own desire his body was conveyed to Delhi, and he

was buried by the side of Nízámu-d-Dín Aulyá and Amír Khusrú.\* For the saint and the poet he entertained a high veneration, and of both he speaks in most eulogistic terms in the *Habíb-u-s-Siyar*.

The *Khulásatu-l-Akhhbár* is a most able compendium of Asiatic History, brought down to A. H. 875—A. D. 1471—but events are recorded in it as late as A. D. 1528. It is held in high repute both in Asia and Europe. A portion of the first book has been translated in the first volume of the *Asiatic Miscellany*, and the history of the Saljúkiáns has been given in original, with a French translation, by M. Dumoret, in the *Nouv. J. As.* xiii. pp. 240—256. Major Price is largely indebted to it, in his *Retrospect of Muhammedan History* and his *History of Arabia*, and D'Herbelot's† obligations to it are still greater.

The Chapters relating to the Ghaznevîdes, the Ghorians, and the kings of Dehli, are contained in the viii<sup>th</sup> Book, and the Indian occurrences are narrated down to A. H. 717—A. D. 1317. But we derive no information from his short abstract, he himself referring for fuller accounts to the *Tabakát-i-Násirî*, the *Tárikh-i-Wassáf*, and the *Rauzatu-s-Safá*.

The *Khulásatu-l-Akhhbár* comprises an Introduction, ten Books, and a Conclusion.

\* See *Journal des Savants*, 1843, p. 386—393.

† This author commits the error of attributing the work to Mir-khond, in which he has been blindly followed by several others.

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SIZE—Large 8vo.—743 pp. of 19 lines each.

## EXTRACT

*Regarding the slaves of the Ghorian Kings, who attained regal dignity.*

Sultán Shahábu-d dín took considerable delight in purchasing Turkish slaves and educating them. He bestowed the Government of the territories of Kermán and Túrán, dependencies of Sind, upon one of his slaves named Táju-d-dín Yelduz, who, upon the death of Sultán Shahábu-d-dín, ascended the throne of Ghazní. He reigned a short time, and in a war with Sultán Shamsu-d-dín Iltmish,\* King of Dehli, was taken prisoner and put to death.

Kutbu-d-dín Eibek was likewise one of the slaves of Shahábu-d-dín. He was distinguished for his great courage and liberality. Having had the reins of the Government of Dehli entrusted to him by the Sultan, he prosecuted many religious wars in India, the particulars of some of which are recorded in the Táju-l-Másir. Kutbu-d-dín Eibek ruled twenty years, during fourteen years of which period he was completely independent of the Sultán, and had the Khutba read in his own name.

\* Ritter and Briggs read *Altмыш*, V. Hammer *Itilmish*.

Upon his death, his son Áráam Sháh ascended the throne, but owing to his want of ability he was deposed after a few days, and was succeeded by Sultán Shamsu-d-dín Eibek.

Malik Násiru-d-dín Kabách, after the death of his master Sultán Shahábu-d-dín, took possession of Uch, Múltán, and several towns in Sind.

When Changez Khán committed great depredations and massacres in Persia, the people of Khorásán sought refuge in great numbers in the territories of Násiru-d-dín, under whose protection they were treated with great munificence and consideration.

Malik Násiru-d-dín, in the latter years of his reign, assumed a hostile attitude towards Sultán Shamsu-d-dín Iltmish. The latter marched his army towards Uch and Múltán. Násiru-d-dín was defeated and fled to the Fort of Bakar, whence, on receiving intelligence of the intended attempt on that Fort by the Wazír of Shamsu-d-dín, named Nízamu-l-Mulk Muhammed, son of Abú Saíd, he tried to effect his escape in a boat, and thus emerge from that whirlpool to the shore of safety, but he was nevertheless drowned in the sea of mortality, i. e. died in the attempt.

Some say Sultán Shamsu-d-dín was one of the slaves of Sultán Shahábu-d-dín, others again say he was one of Kutbu-d-dín Eibek's slaves. However this may be, it is certain that, after the death of Kutbu-d-dín Eibek, the kingdom devolved upon Shamsu-d-dín, who administered even-handed justice for twenty-six years, conquered a great number of forts and territories in India, and died in 633 A. H.

The *Jámiu-l-Hikáút*, which was dedicated to Wazír Nízamu-l-Mulk Muhammed, son of Abú Saíd, was composed during the reign of this king.

Sultán Ruknu-d-dín Feroze Sháh, son of Shamsu-d-dín Iltmish, ascended the throne, and was exceedingly liberal in his largesses and donations, but in consequence of his inordinate addiction to wine, he altogether disgusted and alienated the nobles and ministers of the state. They were at length compelled to seize and put him in prison. He reigned only seven months.

In Europe there are several good copies of this work, of which the best known are those of St. Petersburg, Vienna, the British Museum and Sir W. Ouseley.\* The work is common in India. In the Asiatic Society's Library there

\* Von Hammer-Purgstall, in noticing these in the *Gesch. d. Gold. Horde in Russland*, p. xxiv, has failed to observe his usual accuracy.

is an excellent Manuscript, but by far the most beautiful copy I have seen is in the possession of Muhammed Razíu-d-dín, chief native Judge of Ilhábád, though a little defective at the end

The Khulásatu-l-Akhbár opens thus, according to all the copies examined.

خلاصه کلمات راویان اخبار و انبیاء عالیقدر و بقاوه سات واقعان  
اثار سلاطین دوی الافتدار حمد و ثنای خالقیت که ار حرانه  
عطي کل شئي خلقه هریک ار احاد کاینا را بحلعت خلقتی  
موصوف ساخت و ار جامه خانه انا جعلنا کل شئي بقدر  
هر فردی ار امرد ممکنات را به تشریف کرامتی بنواخت

#### بیت

همه کس خلعتی هستی ارو یامت \* ملک بالا رمین پستی ارویامت

and concludes thus, according to two perfect Manuscripts.

والی فیومه الساعه و ساعه القیام ار رسجات سحاب فضل و اکرام  
ناران جود و احسان و اقطار امطار بر وجود عاقبت محمودش  
سبب رهایت مسلمان بیار

همیسه ناد ترا عمرد حصول مراد \* نعر و ناز چو دوران چرخ نامعدود  
تراست حارث و حافظ عدایت اری \* تراست حامی و ناصر پناه رسودود



## NOTE C

*Mír Ali Sher*

Mír Ali Sher, or Ali Sher Amír, the enlightened minister of Súltán Husain of Persia, was born about A. H. 844 —A. D. 1440.

Mír Ali Sher was of an illustrious family of the Chagataí tribe. His father, Bahádar, who was a man of deep learning and science, and whose chief pride it was to give a finished education to his children, held one of the principal offices of government during the reign of Sultán Abú-l-Kásim Báber, son of Timúr, and Ali Sher was himself employed at court, having ingratiated himself with this prince so much, as to obtain from him the title of son. He was admitted to this favor by means of his literary accomplishments, and especially by the display of his talent as a composer of Turkish and Persian verse. When this prince died, Mír Ali Sher retired to Meshed, and subsequently to Samarcand, where he devoted himself to study. Sometime afterwards, Sultán Husain Bahádar Khán, having made himself master of Khorásán, invited Mír Ali Sher, with whom he had been educated, and for whom he entertained a great affection, for the purpose of entrusting to him the administration of the Government.

After being employed in the capacity of Dīwán and Minister for some time, love of study induced him to resign, but Husain prevailed upon him to accept the government of Asterábád, which also proving too busy an occupation for one of his literary tastes, he resigned it after a short period, and bidding a final adieu to public life, passed the remainder of his days in composing Turkish and Persian works, of which Sám Mírzá recounts the names of no less than twenty-one. Though himself an ambitious author, he was far from being jealous of the accomplishments of others, and proved himself one of the most eminent patrons of literature. Daulat Sháh, the biographer, Mírkhond and Khondemír, the historians, dedicated their works to him, and amongst other men of genius who were cherished by his liberality, may be mentioned the celebrated poet Jámí. He patronized also sculpture and architecture, and several edifices dedicated to religion and humanity were raised at his sole expense. He was also very partial to music, and himself composed several pieces of merit, which are said still to maintain their credit.

His collection of Odes in the Chagatái, or pure Turkish dialect, which he wrote under the poetical title of Nuái, amounts to ten thousand couplets, and his parody of Nízámí's five poems, containing nearly thirty thousand couplets, is universally admired by the cultivators of Turkish poetry, in which he is considered to be without a rival.

In the Persian language also he wrote a collection of Odes, under the poetical title of Fanái, from which Hájí Lutf Ali, in his Átish-kadah, has selected the following as a beautiful specimen.

“O you who say ‘dost curse Yezíd, for possibly the Almighty may have had mercy on him I say, if the Lord pardoneth all the evil which Yezíd did to the Prophet’s descendants, He will also pardon you, who may have cursed him”

Alí Sher died A. H. 906—A. D. 1500,—five years before his royal friend and master, Sul-tán Husain Mírzá, and Khondemír has recorded the date in an affectionate chronogram :—

“His highness, the Amír, the asylum of divine guidance, in whom all the marks of mercy were conspicuous, has quitted the thorny brake of the world, and fled to the rose-garden of pity. Since the ‘light of mercy’ has descended on his soul, those words represent the day of his departure \*

\* Compare S de Sacy, *Mém sur dit antiq de la Perse* M. Quatremère, *Journ des Savants*, 1843, p 387. *Gesch d sch. Red Pers* p 310 *Notices et extraits des MSS* Tom iv. 246, 290 ix 121 *Biographical Dict. L U K s v Journ Asiatique*, Jan 1842, p 70 Sir G. Ouseley, *Notices of Persian Poets*, pp 50—53.

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## IX

## دستور الوزرا

## DASTURU-L-WUZRA

This biographical account of famous Asiatic Ministers is by the same author, and may fairly claim a place among the General Histories. There is a later and shorter work on the same subject, by Sadru-d-dín Muhammed, son of Zabardast Khán, written in Muhammed Sháh's reign, under the name of *Irshádu-l-wuzrá*. Both works are to be found in the Farah-bakhsh Library at Lakhnau.

## EXTRACTS

There were ten Wazírs of note during the reigns of the Ghaznevídes

*Abú-l-'Abbás Fazl bin Ahmed Isfaráiní*

In the beginning of his career he was secretary to Fáik, one of the nobles of the Sámání court, and upon his death, attached himself to Amír Násir-u-dín Sabuktigín, and when that king went to Paradise, his son Mahmúd appointed Abú-l-'Abbás Fazl to the post of Wazír. It is related in the *Jámiu-t-Tawárikh* that Abú-l-Fazl was neither a man of learning, nor of good manners: that he was ignorant of the Arabic language, but was a good practical officer, and in administrative capacity had not his equal. God had given him a son called Hajjáj, who was blessed with such an excellent disposition and endowed with such extraordinary mental faculties, that he surpassed all his contemporaries. He composed most excellent Arabic verses, and was a perfect master of the traditionary sayings of the prophet, and many people have quoted his authority as unexceptionable.

When Abu-l-'Abbás had been minister for ten years, the star of his destiny fell from the firmament of prosperity to the pit of

adversity. Some historians have thus related the cause of his dismissal.—

Sultán Mahmúd had an intense love for slaves (possessing faces as fair as that of the planet Jupiter.) Fazl bin Ahmed followed his example, which accords with the saying, that “men follow the opinion of their master.” Fazl, on hearing the reputation of the beauty of a boy in Turkistán, deputed a confidential person to purchase that boy (whose countenance was beautiful as that of the planet Venus), and bring him to Ghaznín, according to the mode of conveyance usually adopted for a female. When an informer represented to the king these circumstances, as well as the successful issue of the deputation, his most august Majesty demanded that slave (whose colour was as white as silver) from the minister (whose glory and dignity were raised as high as the planet Mercury.) The minister made evasive replies and pertinaciously refused to part with the slave, notwithstanding His Majesty’s absolute power. The king one night visited the minister at his house, where the minister did him homage and treated him with a hospitality due to the dignity of a sovereign. When at length the slave (who looked as beautiful as a virgin of paradise,) came into the presence of the king, high words passed between him and his minister, and so greatly was the king’s anger kindled, that he issued orders to seize the minister and plunder his house. After the king’s departure for Hindustán, certain evil-disposed Amirs tortured the minister so severely with a rack that he lost his life. No individual can rescue his “life from the oppression of fate. Fate cannot be regarded as uniform in the dispensation of her favors.”

### *Ahmed bin Hasan Maimandí.*

He was a foster-brother and a fellow-student of Sultán Mahmúd. His father Hasan Mamandi, during the life time of Amír Násiru-d-din Sebzkín, was employed as Drwán at Kasbah Bust, but Amír Násiru-d-din was led by the secret machinations of his enemies to entertain an unfavorable opinion of him. Hasan however did not live long. It is recorded by some that he was one of the ministers of Sultán Mahmúd. This statement is altogether incorrect and unfounded, as it is not maintained by any great historian.

Ahmed bin Hasan, in consequence of his beautiful handwriting, excellent qualities, proficiency in eloquence and great wisdom, became the most conspicuous man of his time and was regarded with affection by several eminent persons. The king, taking him into favor, appointed him secretary, and continued to promote him, time after time, to higher dignities, till at last he was nominated the chief legal authority of the state, as well as invested with the superintendence of the concerns of the army.

A short time after, he was entrusted with the additional duty of conducting the affairs of Khorásán. All these offices he discharged in such a satisfactory manner, that no one could exceed his capacity for administrative duties. At length the king conferred on him the office of minister, when Abú-l-'Abbás Isfaráiní incurred his displeasure. He held the office of minister without any control for a period of eighteen years, when a number of Amírs, such as Áltútíásh, the chamberlain, Amír Alí Khesháwand and others, brought before the court of the king false charges against him, during his absence, which according to the saying that "whatever is listened to will make an impression on the mind," did not fail to have its due effect on the heart of the king, so that the minister in consequence was deposed, and imprisoned in one of the forts of Hind, from which he was released by Sultán Mas'úd, on his ascending the throne of Ghaznín after the death of his father Sultán Mahmúd, and re-instated in the responsible office of minister, which he held again for a long period. He died in the year 444 A. H. "It is finally ordained as the lot of all creatures, that nobody should live for ever in this world."

### *Abú Alí Husain bin Muhammed, alias Hasnak Mekál*

From his early youth he was in the service of Sultán Mahmúd. He was very agreeable in his conversation, well-behaved, energetic and quick in apprehension, but he was not a good writer, nor was he well versed in arithmetic and accounts.

It is recorded in the Rauzatu-s-safa, that when Sultán Mahmúd, in accordance with the solicitation of Núh bin Mansúr Sámaní, was on his march to Khorásán against Abú Alí Samjúr, it was represented to him, that there was, in the neighbourhood of the place where he was then encamped, a Darvesh distinguished for abstinence and devotion, as well as for the performance of miracles and supernatural deeds, and called "Záhid Ahúposh" (a devotee wearing a deer-skin). The king, as he had a firm belief in the power of Darveshes, felt most anxious to pay him a visit, and expressed a desire that Hasnak Mekál should follow him, though the king was aware that he had no faith in that class. Hasnak Mekál however placed the finger of complacence upon his eye, and accompanied him. The king, on his visit to the Dervesh, heard him speak on the mysteries of divinity, and then offered to bestow money upon him or any other article of which he might stand in need. The devout man stretched forth his arm, uttering the mystic syllable "Hu," and placed a handful of coins in the palm of the king, with the remark that whoever could draw such wealth from an invisible treasury had no need of the treasure of this world. The king handed those coins to

Hasmak, who found that they were struck in the name of Abū Ali Samgar. The king on his way back asked Hasmak how he could refuse to accord his belief in such miracles as this. Hasmak answered, that whatever the king observed in respect to miracles was very correct and proper, but at the same time he would suggest that His Majesty should not venture to contend against a man in whose name the coins had been struck in an invisible world. The king asking him whether indeed the coins were struck in the name of Abū Ali, he showed them to him: upon which the king was astonished and put to the blush.

In fact, Hasmak was a constant attendant of the king, whether on journeys or at home. The circumstances which led to his appointment to the office of chief minister are as follows:

On the dismissal of Ahmed bin Hasan from the post, the king issued orders to the other ministers for the nomination of some great man to fill up that office. The ministers accordingly nominated Abū-l-Kāsim, Abū-l-Hasan Akbal, Ahmed bin 'Abdūs-Samad and Hasmak Mekel, and sent their names to the king to make his selection. The king in reply observed that the appointment of Abū-l-Kāsim to the office of minister would interfere with his present duty of 'Ariz: that it would be impoſsible to confer this office on Abū-l-Hasan Akbal, as he was too ambitious; that Ahmed bin 'Abdūs-Samad was indeed fit for this post, but he had been entrusted with the duty of arranging the important affairs of Khorāsen, and that Hasmak, though he was of a good family and had a quicker apprehension than the rest, yet his youthful age offered an obstacle to his appointment. The Amīr, on weighing these sentiments of His Majesty, concluded that he was inclined to nominate Hasmak his minister. They therefore unanimously represented to the king that preference should be given to Hasmak Mekel. The king, in compliance with their recommendation, appointed Hasmak to the office of minister. This post he held during the reigns of the king and his son Sultān Mohammed, who did not interrupt his enjoyment of all the powers delegated to him by his father. Hasmak, with the view of ingratiating himself with Sultān Mohammed, frequently made use of disrespectful language, in speaking of Sultān Mas'ūd, who was then in Irak; inasmuch, that one day in full court he expressed his apprehensions that when Sultān Mas'ūd ascended the throne he would execute him (Hasmak). Accordingly, when Sultān Mas'ūd came to Khorāsen, and took possession of the dominions of Sultān Mohammed, he summoned Hasmak (and inflicted cruel punishment on him.)

Size—4to:—234 pages, each containing 19 lines.

## X.

## حبيب السیر

## HABĪBU-S-SIYAR

This famous history is also by Khondemír, and was written subsequent to the *Khulásatu-l-Akhbár*, and in a much more extended form, though Stewart (*Descriptive Catalogue*, p 4) strangely characterizes it as an abridgment of that work.

The Habíbu-s-Siyar was written at the desire of Muhammed al Husainí, who wished to have the facts of universal history collected into one volume. He died shortly after the work was begun, and the troubles which ensued induced our author for some time to suspend his labours, until an introduction to Karímu-d-Dín Habíb-ullah, a native of Ardebíl, encouraged him to prosecute them again with ardour. Habíb-ullah was a great cultivator of knowledge; all his leisure hours were devoted to its acquisition, and he was particularly partial to history. It was after the name of this new patron that he entitled his work Habíbu-s-Siyar. It may be supposed that, as he travels over nearly the same ground as his father, he has made great use of the *Rauzatu-s-Safá*, of which in



many parts he offers a mere abridgment, but he has added the history of many Dynasties omitted in that work, and the narrative is generally more lively and interesting. He has added, moreover, the lives of the celebrated men who flourished during each period that he brings under review.

The *Habíbu-s-Siyar* was commenced in A. H. 927, when the author was about 48 years of age. It is not known in what year it was completed, but M. Quatremère (*Journ. d. Savans*, 1843, p. 393) has noticed that the year 930 is mentioned in it, and that the occurrences of Persian History are brought down to that time;—but Khondemír perhaps continued his labours long after that period, even down to 935 H., because in an interesting passage at the close of the first volume, of which part has already been quoted in a preceding article, he says, “Be it known unto the intelligent and enlightened minds of readers that the writing of these histories which form the first volume of *Habíbu-s-Siyar*, has been completed for the third time by the movement of the fingers of the composer, according to the saying that “a thing attaineth perfection on its third revisal.” The compiler, while on his travels in Hindustán, finished this volume to the entire satisfaction of all his friends, “stopping every day and every night at a different place.” The pen, whose production is as sweet as a parrot’s imitation of human speech, and which, by dipping into the ink like a diver into the sea, brings forth to light

different narratives as precious gems from the dark caves of the deep, and displays them to the world, threads certain remarkable incidents as valuable pearls in the following manner

“The writer had not been long in Hindustán when he fell sick, and became weaker day by day. The regimen which he underwent for three or four months, with respect to drink and light food, as well as medicines, proved ineffectual, so that he was reduced to so slender a skeleton, that even the morning breeze was capable of wafting him to a different country. Heat consumed his body as easily as flame melts a candle. At length Providence bestowed upon him a potion for the restoration of his health from that dispensary, where “When thou fallest sick, it is he that cureth thee.” The compiler lifted up his head from his sick bed, as the disposer of all things opened the doors of convalescence towards his life. At this time under the shadow of the victorious standard of his august Majesty, Báber, (may God maintain his kingdom till the day of judgment<sup>1</sup>) the compiler had occasion to proceed to Bengál, and at every march where there was the least delay, he devoted his time to the completion of this volume, which was finished at Tírmuháná, near the confluence of the Sarjú and Ganges \*

\* This, therefore, must have been written about May 1529, shortly after the dispersion of the army of Kherid, the position of which tract is correctly given by Mr Erskine, though with a slight error as to the limits. Mr Caldecott, his epitomator, makes Kherid a General, and speaks of the army *under* Kherid. (See Leyden and Erskine's *Memoirs of Baber*, p. 411, and Caldecott's *Life of Baber*, p. 230.)

This passage is taken from a copy written A. H. 1019, but I cannot trace it in any other, all of which end with the verses which precede this Conclusion; and it was most probably not in the copy consulted by Mr Quatremère, or it could scarcely have escaped the penetration of that learned scholar. It seems, therefore, to have been a postscript written for his Indian friends, and the work which he imposed upon himself may, after all, have been the mere copying, for the third time, of that which he had already composed.

It has been hitherto customary to translate the name of this History as the "Friend of Travelling,"\* under the impression that the name of the original is *Habibu-s-Sair*, but it has been shown by M. Von Hammer and Baron de Sacy (*Not. et Extr.* IX. ii. 269) that *Siyar* is the word, signifying "biographies, lives." The reason advanced for this is, that the clause, "*fī akhbār-i-afrādu-l-bashar*," follows immediately after the title; and rythmical propriety, so much studied amongst Orientals, demands that the word should therefore be *Siyar*, rather than *Sair*. Further confirmation of the correctness of this view will be found in the third line of the conclusion given below, where "*Habibu-s-Siyar*" follows immediately after "*Arjūmandu-l-asar*," showing that two syllables are necessary to compose the word *Siyar*. The entire name signifies, "The Friend of Biographies, com-

\* D'Herbelot says, "c'est ce que nous appellons dans l'usage du vulgaire un *Veni mecum*"—*Bibl. Orient.* v. *Habib al Seir*

prising the history of persons distinguished among men ”

The *Habibu-s-Siyar* contains an Introduction (*Iftitáh*), three Books (*Mujellad*), each subdivided into four Chapters (*Juzv*), and a Conclusion (*Ikhtitám*)

### CONTENTS

The Introduction contains the history of the creation of heaven and of earth, as well as of its inhabitants

Book I —Contains the history of the Prophets, Philosophers, and Kings who existed before the dawn of Islámism, with some account of Muhammed and the first Khalifs —860 pages

Chapter 1 —The history of the Prophets and Philosophers

Chapter 2 —The history of the kings of Persia and Arabia

Chapter 3 —An account of Muhammed

Chapter 4 —The events which occurred in the time of the four first Khalifs

Book II —Contains the history of the twelve Imáms, the Ummayyides, Abbásides, and those Kings who were contemporary with the Abbásides—710 pages

Chapter 1 —An account of the twelve Imáms

Chapter 2 —The events which occurred in the time of the Ummayyides

Chapter 3 —An account of the events which occurred in the time of the Abbásides

Chapter 4 —Gives an account of several Kings who were contemporary with the Abbásides

Book III —Contains the history of several other dynasties—784 pages

Chapter 1 —An account of the kings of Turkistán, and of the reigns of Changez Khán and his descendants

Chapter 2 —The history of the Kings contemporary with Changez Khán

Chapter 3 —Gives an account of Timúr and his descendants, down to the time of the author

Chapter 4 —An account of his patron, the reigning monarch

The Conclusion mentions the wonders of the world, with a brief account of learned and holy men, poets, &c

SIZE—Small Folio, of 2318 pages, with 20 lines to a page

The parts relating to India are the sections on the Ghaznevides, the Ghorians, and the kings of Dehli down to the death of Aláu-d-Dín

Timúr's invasion is described at great length, but the Tughlak dynasty is not mentioned

The work is very rarely met with in a perfect state, but single Books and Chapters abound every where

#### EXTRACTS

The three cities of Dehli, viz. Sirrí, Jahánpanáh and old Dehli, which were contiguous to one another, having been all equally sacked, and the circumstance communicated to His Majesty (Timúr,) orders, worthy of all obedience, were issued to the effect, that all the artificers and designers, that were to be found among the prisoners, should be liberated and distributed among the princes, for employment by them in their respective territories, and the stone-cutters reserved for the private service of the king, in order that, accompanying him in his royal progress to Samarkand, they might be employed there in building a Jama Masjid.

#### *On the subject of certain other victories gained by Amír Timúr, Gúrgán, and his return to Samarkand.*

After the world-enlightening standards of Amír Timúr had halted fifteen days at Dehli, they left that city on the 24th Rabíul-ahhír to proceed to other places in India, and the news of his departure was spread abroad throughout the world

When he was encamped at Wazirábád, a mission from Bahádar Nahár, the ruler of Laháwar, waited upon His Majesty, and offered him\* two parrots, which had amused the Courts of the Kings of India, from the reign of Sultán Tughlak Sháh, by their wonderful imitation of human speech. The king was pleased to accept this handsome present. He then crossed the Jumna, and arrived at Kanah, where Bahádar Nahár, accompanied by his son Kaltásh, did him homage, and having offered a suitable present, was treated with every courtesy and kindness

The Amír Timúr, Gúrgán, afterwards proceeded from Kanah to Daulatábád, the most populous city of India, and after a stay of two days at that place, marched against the Fort of Mirat, which is one of the most celebrated in India. Maulá Ahmad, Bahar Sabzí and Safí Gabrí† had possession of the Fort at the time. As

\* In the original, Timúr is designated in this passage, "the falcon of the hill of intelligence"

† The Rauzatu-s-Safá gives these names as Ilvas Ugháni, and the son of Maulana Ahmad of Thanesar, and Safí Gabr, or Kabir

they had become refractory, His Majesty, when he reached the place at the end of Rabíu-l-ákhír, gave them battle, took the city of Mírat by storm, and putting Safi Gabr to the sword, despatched him to hell, and ordered his son to be burned in the fire which he worshipped

“Though a fire-worshipper kindle fire and adore the element for a hundred years, yet if he fall into it, it will consume him in a moment”

On the 1st of Jamádu-l-awwal, the greater part of the fire-worshippers who were in the Fort, were slain by the hands of the Muhammedaus, and on the Fort being razed to the ground, the Emperor proceeded to the banks of the Ganges, to wage a religious war against the Infidels. Several battles were fought here, and many Infidels were slain and despatched to hell on the banks of that river, and at the pass of Kopla (Gonmukha?), to which places Timúr advanced the standard of Islám

The Habíbu-s-Siyar has not met with so many translators as the Rauzatu-s-Safá. Major Price has abstracted a portion of it in his “Chronological Retrospect,” and the tragic events of Karbalá have been translated in the “Oriental Quarterly Review.” The History of the Mongols has been translated by M. Grigorieff. St Petersburg, 1834, 8vo

Five good copies concur in giving the opening lines of the Habíbu-s-Siyar thus:—

ربنا اتنا من مصلک رحمة وهي من امرنا رشدنا  
لطایف احبار و لایي اثار ابدیاء عالی مقدار و شرایف اثار معالی  
دثار سلاطین دوا القتدار ارحمہم الاثر حبیب السیر و قتی تواند بود  
کہ موشم باشد احمد و ثنای واحب الوجودی

The third volume, like the other two, with the single exception noted above, concludes with poetry, of which the last lines are:—

برآور کل معرفت از کلم معجز کی از نور عرفان دلم  
بارقام اسام ده احتقام کتاب بنای مرا واسلام

## XI.

## تاریخ ابراہیمی

## TARIKH-I-IBRAHIMI

A work under this title is described by Major Charles Stewart, as an abridged history of India from the earliest times to the conquest of that country by Sultán Báber. It is mentioned as a quarto volume in the collection of Típu Sultán. The author's name is given as Ibráhím bin Harire, and the work was dedicated to Sultán Báber, A. D. 1528. (See Stewart's *Descriptive Catalogue*, &c. p. 13.)

Under this name the more famous history of Ferishta is frequently quoted by native historians, in consequence of its having been compiled under the patronage of Ibráhím Ādil Sháh of Bījápúr, but I have never met the work quoted by Stewart, nor heard of its existence in any library in India

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## XII

## لب ال تواریخ

## LUBBU-T-TAWARÍKH

This “Marrow of History” is a general Asiatic Chronicle of considerable repute in Europe and Asia. It has been translated into Latin by MM. Gaulmin and Galland, and Pietro de la Valle declared his intention of translating it into Italian. Whether he ever executed his task I know not, but in one of his letters, dated 1621, he says “Di tradur da Persiano in Toscano un libro che chiamano *Midolla delle Historie*, et e un breve compendio della historia di tutti i Re della Persia da Adam infin’ a Sciah Tahmasp.” It is also frequently quoted by the authors of the Universal History, and by D’Herbelot, as *Leb Tarikh*.

The author of this work was Yahíá bin Abdu-l Latíf al Husainí of Kazwín, who composed it in A. D. 1541. Hájí Khalfa gives his name as Ism’íl bin Abdu-l-Latíf; and in the *Másiru-l-Umrá*, he is called Mír Yahyá Husainí Saifí.

The author of that excellent work describes him as a well known theologian and philosopher, who had acquired such extraordinary profici-



ency in the knowledge of history, that he was fully acquainted with the date of every event which had occurred from the establishment of the Muhammedan religion to his own time

In the opening of his career he was patronized by Sháh Tahmásp Saffaví, by whom he was called Yahyá M'súm, and was treated by the king with such distinction, that his enemies, envious of his good fortune, endeavoured to poison his patron's mind against him, by representing that he and his son, Mír Abdu-l-Latíf, were the leading men among the Sunnís of Cazvín.

They at last prevailed so far as to induce the king, when he was on the borders of Azarbáiján, to order Mír Yahyá and his son, together with their families, to be imprisoned at Ispahán. At that time, his second son, Aláu-d-Daulah, known by the náme of Kámí, the author of the work called Nafáisu-l-Másir, was in Azarbáiján, and sent off a special messenger to convey this intelligence to his father. Mír Yahyá, being too old and infirm to fly, accompanied the king's messenger to Ispahán, and died after one year and nine months, in A. H 962,\* at the age of 77 years

Mír Abdu-l-Latíf, however, immediately on receipt of his brother's communication, fled to Gilán; and afterwards, at the invitation of the Emperor Humayún, went to Hindustán; but, intermediately, that Emperor had departed this

\* This is the date according to the Mäsiru-l-Umrá, other authorities fix it two years earlier, A. H 960—A. D 1552-3

life, so that he arrived at Court with his family, after Akbar had ascended the throne. By him he was received with great kindness and consideration, and was appointed, in the second year of the reign, as his preceptor. At that time the prince knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards he was able to repeat some odes of Háfiz. The Mír, says his biographer, was a man of great eloquence and of excellent disposition, and so moderate in his religious sentiments, that each party used to revile him for his indifference.

When Bairam Khán had incurred the displeasure of the Emperor, and had left Agra, and proceeded to Alwar, with the intention, as it was supposed, of exciting a rebellion in the Panjáb, the Emperor sent the Mír to him, in order to dissuade him from such an open breach of fidelity to his sovereign.

The Mír died at Síkí in A. H. 971. As he bore the same name as his grandfather, another source of confusion has arisen respecting the name of our author.

His eldest son, Mír Ghaiásu-d-Dín Alí, was also endowed with an excellent disposition, and served Akbar for a long period.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> year of the reign, he accompanied the Emperor to Patna, and in the 21<sup>st</sup>, was appointed to command an expedition against the Zemíndár of I'dar. In the same year, Abd-u-l-Kádir recounts a sad accident which befell Ghaiásu-d-Dín at a game of Chaugán, in which he and his brother, Mír Sharífu-d-Dín, when

opposed, charged each other with such force, that the latter was killed by the concussion. When Akbar dismounted to ascertain what had occurred, and it was observed that his saddle was empty, several disaffected persons spread abroad a report that he had met with a severe accident; and so rapidly did the intelligence gain ground, that he was compelled to write circular letters to his nobles informing them of the real circumstances, and calling upon them to frustrate the designs of his enemies.

In the 26<sup>th</sup>\* year of the reign, he was honored with the title of Nakíb Khán, by which he is now best known. In the 40<sup>th</sup> year, he attained the *Mansab* of 1000, and two of his cousins married into the royal family, the king himself espousing one of them. In the time of Jahángír he attained still further honors, and in the 9<sup>th</sup> year of the reign—A. H. 1023—died at Ajmír, and was buried in a marble tomb within the area of Muínu-d-Dín Chishtí's Mausoleum, where his wife lies buried by his side.

Nakíb Khán inherited his grandfather's devotion to the study of history, and it is said that he knew the entire contents of the seven volumes of the *Rauzatu-s-Safá*. He was one of the compilers of the first portion of the *Tárikh-i-Alfi*, and the translator of the *Máhábhárata* † He was also expert in Geomancy and mental Arithmetic. The royal autobiographer, Jahángír, records an

\* Kewal Rám says, in the *Tazkiratu-l-Umrá*, that this occurred in 25<sup>th</sup> year, and that he obtained the title for his gallant conduct in repelling a night attack made by M'súm Khán upon the royal camp.

† This honor is usually ascribed to Faizí, but I doubt if he had any concern in it beyond the mere general superintendence.

instance of it in his *Memoirs*, where he relates that Nakíb Khan, on being asked how many pigeons there were in a particular flock then flying, responded instantly, without making a mistake of even one

The Mír attained a good old age, and left a son, who bore the name of his grandfather, Mír Abdu-l-Latíf, in the same way as his grandfather had done before him. He was a person of great worth and ability, and attained high honors, but died insane

#### CONTENTS.

The Lubbu-t-Tawárikh is divided into three\* Books

Book I —On Muhammed and the Imáms As all notice of Abubekr, Omar, and Othmán is excluded, D'Herbelot considers our author to be a Shíá. This contains two sections, from page 2 to 13

Book II —On the kings who reigned before the advent of Muhammed—the Peshdádians—Kauárians—the Mulúku-t-Tawáif, from the time of Alexander to Ardshír Bábegan—the Sásánians, or Kaiásara In four sections, from p 14 to 35

Book III —On the kings who reigned since the time of Muhammed In three Chapters (Makála) and six sections (Báb), from pp 35 to 164.

Chapter 1.—Regarding the holy men, companions of the Prophet, 1. p

Chapter 2 —The Ummayyide Khalífas, 4 pp

Chapter 3 —The Abbáside Khalífas, 8 pp.

Section —1 The Sultáns of Irán—in eleven subsections (Fasl) comprising the Táhirians, 2 pp Saffárians, 2 pp Samaníans, 2 pp Ghaznevídes, 3 pp Ghorians, 1 p Búyídes, 5 pp Saljúkians, 8 pp Khwárasmssháhís, 3 pp Atábeks, 5 pp Ismaílians, 6 pp. Karákhutáís of Kirmán, 2 pp.

Section 2.—The Moghuls, 13 pp

Section 3 —The successors of Sultán Abú Saíd in Irán In five subsections, 25 pp

\* In the Preface of the copy before me it is stated that the work is divided into *four* Books, but the details of *three* books only are given D'Herbelot says, the fourth book contains the dynasties subsequent to Muhammed, and Hamaker says that the Leyden copy has as the fourth book, that which D'Herbelot gives as the contents of the third, viz the reigning family of Persia.

Section 4.—The descendants of Amír Timúr, 19 pp.

Section 5 —The Kárakúinlú and Akkúinlú Turks In two subsections, 17 pp

Section 6 —The descendants of Túshí Khán, son of Changez Khán, in Khorásán and Transoxiana, 2 pp

Size—Folio—pp 164, of 19 lines

The work is in too abridged a form to render any passage worth translating, but an extract from the original will be found in the last Volume.

Copies of the Lubbu-t-Tawárikh are rare in India, and I know of no good Manuscript. The most celebrated of Europe are those of Paris, Vienna, the Vatican, Bodleian, and Sir. W Ouseley. Hamaker also notices one in the Leyden Library, No. 1738, written A. D 1645-6, but ascribed to Mas'údí by some extraordinary mistake \*

### Beginning

حمد و سپاس خدای را که شاهان دوران بنارگاهش کمیده بدگاند  
و حوافین رمان بر درگاهش کمتترین چاکران ستایش نامنتها علویش  
ارتبدال و انتقال مصون است

### Ending.

بعد از او عبد الله خان سلطنت رسید او پیر پسر کو چوچی خان  
است و حالا که سده ثمان و اربعین و تسعماته است در ماورالنهر  
پادشاه اوست

\* Compare Hamaker, *Specimen Catalogi cod MSS* pp 48, 242  
*Fundgr d Or* Vol II p 299 *Wien Jahrbh* No lxix p 10 D'Her-  
belot, *Bibl Or Art Labb al Taouarikh* Busching's, *Mag f. d neu*  
*Hist und Geog* No. xvii Petis de la Croix, *Abregé de la vie des auteurs*  
&c &c p. 529, Ouseley, *Epitome of Anc Hist. of Persia*, pp. v. xxxi.

## XIII —XIV

## تاریخ پادشاهان هند

TARİKH-I-PADSHAHAN-I-HIND

## تاریخ پادشاهان همايون

TARİKH-I-PADSHAHAN-I-HUMAIYUN

The first work is described in Stewart's Catalogue (p 17) as an abridged history of the Muhammedan kings of Hindustán till the accession of the Emperor Akbar. It is probably the same as the work of that name noticed by James Fraser, (*Catalogue of Manuscripts collected in the East*, 1742,) as well as by Von Hammer, (*Gesch d. ind Pers* p 411.)

The second is the title of a work in the Catalogue of Capt Jonathan Scott's Library, (Ouseley, *Oriental Collections*, Vol I p 370 )



## XV.

## نسخ جهان آرا

## NUSAKH-I JAHÂN-ARĀ

This "world-adorning history" is a useful compendium, containing a brief account, not only of all the dynasties usually treated of, but several of less note.

The author is Cází Ahmed bin Muhammed al-Ghaffárí al-Kazwíní, to whom we are also indebted for the better known work entitled *Nigáristán*, which will be treated of under the Ghaznevide dynasty.\* From the short account given of him, amongst the biographies in the *Tárikh-i-Badáúní*, we learn that, having resigned his employment in Persia, he went, towards the close of his life, on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and that landing at Daibal in Sind, for the purpose of paying a visit to Hindustán, he died at that port, A. H. 975—A. D. 1567.

The *Jahán-ará* carries the History of Asia down to A. H. 972, of which number the author tells us that the title forms the Chronogram. One section of the work was extracted by Sir W. Ouseley, and published in 1799,

\* M. Rousseau attributes a Persian anthology to him, but this appears to be an error.

under the title of “ Epitome of the ancient History of Persia ” India is noticed in several sections of the work, but they are not in sufficient detail to be of any value

The Books and Chapters of the Jahán-ará are most fancifully divided, and subdivided, into Leaves, Pages, Paragraphs, Clauses, Lines, Letters, &c

### CONTENTS

The Introduction treats of Chronology and of the Prophetical office, pp 4—9

Book I —The Prophets—Muhammed—the twelve Imáms — pp 9—39

Book II —Chapter 1st —The kings who preceded Muhammed The Peshdádians —Kafánians —Ashgánians —Sásánians —Kings of Babylon —Syria —Greece —Yemen —Ghassán —Khákáns of Turks

Chapter 2nd —Kings subsequent to Muhammed —Abbásido Khalífs —Táhirians —Arab Kings of Spain—Sharífs of Mecca.—Ismáilians —Sultáns of Gílán and Mázanderán —Saffárians —Búyides —Ghazuevides —Saljúkians —Khwárazm-sháhís —Karrákhíts —Atábaks —Ghorians —Chiefs of Arabia —The Cæsars of Rúm —The Sultáns of Hind —Guzerát —Deccan —Chiefs of Lár and Hormuz —the Khákáns of Moghuls —Sultans of Máwaráu-n-Nahr —Amír Timúr —Sháh Rukh —Sons of Omar Sheikh —Descendants of Mirán Sháh —The family of Othmán —The Sultáns of Kára-kúnílú —of Ák-kúnílú \*—pp 39—433

Book III —The Saffavian dynasty —pp 434—578

SIZE—Small Folio—578 pp, of 18 lines each

The subdivisions are given in greater detail in the Jahrbucher, and in exacter correspondence with the original; but it is strange that all notice of Book III. is omitted. I have seen copies in this country also, in which there is no mention of that Book

\* This is the usual reading in works written, or copied, in India The meaning of the words is “the black sheep,” and “the white sheep” Malcolm (*Hist of Persia* I 323) gives it Koinloo, Von Hammer-Purgstall (*Jahrb* No lxi,) as Kojunlu



Von-Hammer Pursgtall observes that the work is not common in Europe, but notices three copies in London, and one in his own collection. M. Fraehn also notices it among his desiderata. I know of three copies in India, at Dehli, at Lakhnau, and at Haiderábád, none of which are of conspicuous merit.\*

A comparison of three copies gives the initial lines as :—

شده نامور نامت رسم جهان آرا \* بحال خویش یارب تو جمال آن بیارا  
آرایش دیباجه سخن رسم جهان آرای دین و دنیا و رینت امرای  
انوان صحف مکرمه اندیا و اوعیا حمد و ثنای مالک الماکست

The words at the conclusion are :—

و بازواج حضرات ایمنه هدا صلوة الله علیهم اهدی فرمودند تقبل  
الله تعالی من حضرتہ قدس الاعلی و حلد ملکہ و سلطانه مادامت  
الأرض والسماء تم الکتاب بعون الملک الوهاب

\* Compare Rousseau, *Parnasse Oriental*, p. 96 *Gesch d Gold Horde*, p xxiv. *Gesch d sch Red Pers* pp 13, 307, 350 *Wien Jahrb Anzgb* p 35 Ouselev, *Epitome of Anc Hist of Persia*, p xxxvi Fraehn, *Indications Bibliograph* No 215

## XVI—XVII

## تاریخ الجنابی

TĀRIKH-AL-JANNABĪ

## اخبار الدول

AKHBĀRU-D-DAWAL

The first work, of which the correct name is supposed to be Bahru-z-zakhkhār, “the swelling sea,” comprises a general history from the beginning of the world to A H 997—A D 1589. D’Herbelot quotes the author of the Kashful-zanún as saying that this history is called by some Ilmu-z-zakhkhār, “superabundant knowledge,” and that it is the most copious history which the Muhammedans have. Hájí Khalfá says it has no known title, but that the author of Akhbāru-d-dawal mentions it under the name of Bahí, and that some learned men call it, Ailemu-z-zákhír fī ahwálu-l-a-wáil wau-l-awákhír, “an overflowing well in the transactions of ancients and moderns.”

It gives an account of the creation of the world, the Prophets, Syrians, Sabians, Jews, Christians, the four ancient Persian dynasties, the Kings of the Greeks, of the Israelites, Sul-

táns of Egypt, the Arab tribes, Muhammed, the four first Khalifs, and those of the Ummayyide and Abbáside dynasties, the Mamlúks who ruled over Syria, the several dynasties of the Saffárians, Sámánians, Ghorians, Ghaznevides, Deilimites, Búyides, Saljúkians, Khwárazm-sháhís, Changez Khán, Timúr, and their descendants, the Ottoman Emperors, and others.

The work was originally written in Arabic, and translated by the author into Turkish, and abridged by him also in that language. Hence some confusion has arisen in describing it, and a second source of error arises from there being another author of this name, who wrote a history of Timúr.

It is divided into 82 sections, each containing a different dynasty; and, although Hájí Khalfa notices that several dynasties are omitted which are mentioned in the *Jehán Ará*, yet he states that he knew no work equally copious as a compendium. He therefore abstracted the greater part into his own historical work, entitled *Fazlaka*, but increased the number of the different dynasties to 150. He states also that the *Akhbáru-d-dawal wa asáru-l-awwal*, "the annals of dynasties and the monuments of ancient things," in 380 folios, written A. H. 1008, by Ahmed bin Yúsuf bin Ahmed, is an abridgment of Jannábís history, to which the epitomator adds a little of his own, omitting at the same time many dynasties given by Jannábí.

D'Herbelot varies in giving the name of this author. Under the article "Gianabı," he gives it as, Abou Mohammed Mosthafa ben Seid bin Saiyd Hassan al Hosseini, and under "Tarikh al Gianabı," he calls him, al Gianabı ben Seid Hassan al Roumı Uri gives his full name as, Abu Muhammed Mustafā ben al-Said al-Hassan ben al-Said Senan ben al-Said Ahmed al-Hosainı al-Hashemı al-Carshı He died A. H 999—A. D 1591

I know of no Manuscript of this work in India, but the name of Bahru-l-Zakhkhār is familiar, as being the title of a ponderous work devoted to the lives of Muhammedan Saints It is also the name of the first volume of a modern compilation, called Majmau-l-Mulūk.

The Arabic history exists at Oxford and St Petersburg, and the Turkish is in the Royal Library of Vienna The Bodleian has two copies, both in two volumes, one copy is in folio, comprising 553 leaves, but there are only 76 sections included in it; another is in 4to comprising 880 leaves \*

\* Compare Uri, *Bibl Bodl Codd MSS Or* pp 150, 170, 173, Nicoll and Pusey, *ib* pp 590, 595 Fraehn, *Indications Bibliograph* No 221 Koehler, *Eichh Repert* Vol iv p 274 *Gesch des Osman Reiches*, Vol iv p 235 Hájí Khalfa, *Lex Bibl et Enc* Vol ii p 124 *Gesch d'Gold Horde*, p. xxxviii *Wien Jahrb* No lxxix pp 11, 13 *Fundg d' Or* Vol iv p 329 Vol vi p 370

## XVIII.

## تاریخ حاجی محمد قندھاری

TÁRIKH-I HÁJÍ MUHAMMED CANDAHARÍ.

This work is very frequently quoted by Ferishta, both in the General History, as well as in the Histories of Bengál, Sind, and Guzerát, and throughout a period extending from Mahmúd of Ghazní to the accession of Akbar. It is, therefore, evidently a General History.

In the Sahíhu-l-Akhlbár, Sarúp Chand quotes as one of the authorities to which he is indebted, Táríkh-i-Sadr Jahán by Hájí Muhammed Candahárá, in which he has confounded two names together, and rendered himself open to the suspicion of quoting works which he never saw, —a practice by no means uncommon with our modern historiographers.

I cannot learn that there is any copy of this work extant.

(See Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. I. pp. 52, 408, Vol. IV. pp. 48, 345, 401 )



## XIX

## تاریخ الفی

## TĀRIKH-I-ALFI

This work comprehends a History of Muhammedan nations up to the thousandth year of the Hījrī Era. It is from this circumstance that it obtains its name, *Alf*, signifying in the Arabic language, one thousand. The Emperor Akbar directed its compilation by several learned men,\* and may have perhaps fixed upon this particular period of one thousand years, in conformity with a notion he is said to have entertained and expressed, that the Muhammedan religion would be abolished, after lasting that period †

At the commencement of the work, many different authors were employed, but, subsequently, the chief labour devolved upon Mulláná Ahmed, the son of the Cází of Thatta, ‡ and the author of *Khulásatu-l-Haiát*, “the Essence of Life.” An interesting account of the different

\* Two hundred years before a similar scheme was executed by Guthrie and Grey. See *Gesch d sch redch Persiens*, p 353

† Trevor and Shea, *Dabistan*, Vol III p 98

‡ His birthplace is differently given by others. Dr Bird calls him son of Nasrallah of Nineveh. General Briggs calls him Mulla Ahmed of Nineveh. See *History of Guzerat*, p 88. *Ferishta*, Vol I p xlix. *Dabistan*, Vol II p 160

parties engaged on it is given by Abdu-l-Kádir Badáúní in the following passage from his *Muntakhabu-t-Tawárikh*

“About this time (A. H. 990) Mullá Ahmed of Thatta, a bigot who had the impertinence\* to call himself a physician, came from the Decan, and was presented at Court. His ancestors, who resided in Sind, were Fárúkís of the Hanifah sect, and Mullá Ahmed used, in consequence of his apostacy, to shower anathemas upon those unfortunate persons \* \* \*. In the time of Sháh Tahmásp he associated in Irák with some heretic Iránians, but he even exceeded them, notwithstanding their notorious heresy. When Sháh Ismaíl II. deserted the faith of his father, and became a Sunní, and persecuted the heretic Shías, Mullá Ahmed accompanied Makhdúm Sharkí, (an uncompromising Sunní, who wrote the *Kitábu-n-nawáfiz*,) on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Thence he proceeded to the Deccan, and afterwards to Hindustán, and finding no opposition to the prosecution of his designs, he began to teach his absurd doctrines,† and invite converts to the Shía persuasion; but in a short time he met the penalty of his evils deeds. He had as yet had no interview with Shaikh Faízí, and had not yet assumed that air of confidence, with which his intimacy with that minister

\* The author of the *Másir-l-Umrá*, who was himself a Shía, speaks more tenderly of these absurdities. He says the Mullá was partial to religious controversy, and rarely missed an opportunity of indulging his propensity even in mixed societies.

† The *Másir-l-Umrá* does not give so sorry an account of his claim to be a physician, as will be seen below.

inspired him, when I saw him one day in the Bázái, where some Liákís took the opportunity of mentioning my name to him in terms of praise. Upon this, he addressed me, and said, "I see the mark of a Shíia stamped on your forehead." "Just as much," I replied, "as I see Sunni stamped upon your's " The bystanders laughed, and were much gratified at the retort I shall, please God ! notice the close of his life in the proper place "

"The year one thousand of the Hyrî Era, which is in general use, being now completed\* the Emperor Akbar ordered a history to be written of all the Muhammadan kings, and directed that such a name should be given to the work, as to denote the year of its composition It was for this reason that the work was entitled Alfî "

"He further ordered the word Rihlat (death) to be substituted for Hyrat (flight) in the different dates, and employed seven persons to undertake the compilation from the date of the decease of the Prophet to the present day, and to mention therein the events of the whole world "

"He assigned the first year to Nakíb Khán, the second to Sháh Fateh-ullah, and so on to Hakím Humám, Hakím Alí, Hájí Ibráhím Sarhindí (who had just then arrived from

\* This is said in the paulo-post future sense, because the order for the composition of the Tarikh-i-Alfî is recorded as one of the events of 990 H, and we find Abdu-l-Kádir going to Lahore to revise it in 1000 H The translation of the Mahábhárata was also ordered in 990 H



Guzerát) Mírzá Nizámu-d-Dín and myself; so that by such distribution thirty-five years were finished in the course of a week."

"During the period that I was compiling the events of the seventh year, and was engaged on the life of Khalif Omar, the model of purity, (may God be propitious to him!) I had just completed an account of the foundation of Kúfa, and the destruction of Madáin, from the ruins of which the new city was embellished, and the marriage of Ammi Kulsúm the daughter of Alí, (may God be propitious to him!) as well as the institution of five stated times for prayer, the fall of the city of Nasíbín, and the large black scorpions which were made use of to effect its capture, when, one night, Mírzá Jafar Ásaf Khán thought proper to dispute the correctness of these facts.\* Notwithstanding this, Shaik Abú-l-Fazl and Ghází Khán Badakhshí confirmed my assertions. Shortly afterwards, when I was asked whence I got this information, I replied that I had seen it in books, and had written accordingly, and that it was not my own invention. Immediately the *Rauzatu-l-Ahbáb* and other historical books were called for from the library, and given to Nakíb Khán to verify the accuracy of the statement, which, by God's grace, being found correct, I was relieved from the charge of invention."

"At the recommendation of Hakím Abú-l-Fateh, the compilation of the work from the

\* See Note D.

thirty-sixth year was entrusted solely to Mullá Ahmed of Thatta, who, however, wrote whatever coincided with his sectarian prejudices—a fact which is well known ”

“The compilation of two volumes was finished up to the time of Changhez Khán, when Mírzá Faulád, one night, pretending that the king had sent for Mullá Ahmed, summoned him from his house, and murdered him in a street of Lahore, in revenge for some injury which he had suffered at his hands, as well as because he was violently opposed to him in matters of religion. For this act he was sentenced to death ”

“The remainder of the work was written by Ásaf Khán, up to the year 997\* H. In the year 1000† H I was ordered to proceed to Lahore, to revise the composition, to compare it with other histories, and to arrange the dates in their proper sequence.”

“I compared the two first volumes in one year, and entrusted the third to Ásaf Khán ’

\* Not having seen the last part of the History, I am not able to ascertain whether it extends only to 997 H. The *Masiru-l-Umrá* uses the same expression.

† In another portion of his History he says, that he presented the first volume of the edition, which had been revised by him, in the 39th year of the reign, corresponding with A. H. 1003, in which labour, his friend, Mulla Mustafá a famous copyist of Lahore, had been associated with him. He was then asked by Akbar to revise the second, as it was full of the religious opinions of Mulla Ahmed, but he excused himself from doing more than merely revising the style, without altering the sense, or correcting the dates, in order that his enemies might not say he had been introducing his own sentiments instead of those of the author, and substituting one set of prejudices for another. As the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* is quoted in the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, which is brought down only to the end of the 38th year of the reign, corresponding with 1002 H. it is evident it must have been available before Abdu-l-Kádir had revised it.

In another part of his History (A H 1003) Abdu-l-Kádir again speaks of the Táríkh-i-Alfí being divided into three books, two composed by Mullá Ahmed, "the heretic, may he meet with his deserts!" and the third by Āsaf Khán (Jafar Beg). Major C Stewart, however, in his Catalogue of Típú Sultán's Library, says, it is divided into five Books, and that it extends from A. D. 622 to 1592. The error of making it commence from A. D. 622 arises from his supposing that its dates refer to the flight, instead of the death, of Muhammed. This alteration of an universal Era, and the substitution of one especially for this work, is a very objectionable feature of the Táríkh-i-Alfí, excellent as it is in many other respects.

It will be observed that Abdu-l-Kádir promised to relate further particulars of Mullá Ahmed in their proper place, and he fulfils that promise in the following passage, which affords as amusing an instance of *odium theologicum*, as is to be met with in any country.

"During this month (Safar, 996 A. H.) Mírzá Faulád Bírlás persuaded the heretic Mullá Ahmed, who was always openly reviling the first Khalífs, to leave his own house at midnight under some pretence, and then assassinated him. The chronograms of which event are "Bravo! Faulad's stiletto!" and "Hellish hog!" and indeed when I saw that dog in the agonies of death, I observed his countenance to be exactly like that of a hog. others also

observed the same, May God protect me from such a dreadful fate !”\*

“ Mirza Faulád was bound alive to the leg of an elephant in the city of Lahore, and thus attained martyrdom ”

“ When Hakím Abú-l-Fateh sent some one to enquire of him, whether sectarian prejudices had induced him to kill Mullá Ahmed, he replied that had that been the reason, he would have selected a more noble victim than the Mullá . The Hakím reported this speech to the king, who remarked that Mirzá Faulád was an implacable villain, and ought to suffer death . He therefore ordered him to be drawn, while yet living, by an elephant, although he was very nearly obtaining a pardon through the intercession of the ladies† of the royal household . The Mullá expired three or four days after the Mirzá ”

“ It is said, that when the Shías were bathing him previous to burial, they fixed, according to the observances of their religion, a tent peg in his back, and dipped him several times in the river, and that when he was buried, Sheikh Faizí and Sheikh Abú-l-Fazl appointed watchmen to guard his tomb , notwithstanding which, when the Court departed for Cashmír, the

\* A Shia, who marked the rubrics on the margin of the copy I have used, takes a most summary revenge, by heading this passage thus “ The assassination of the blessed Mullá Ahmed by the ruthless dagger of an accursed son of a pig ”

† The Másiru-l-Umrí says “ by the nobles of the state ” The determination to carry the sentence into effect shows the stern justice of the Emperor . The Birlas family had served his for eight generations, and Mirza Faulád had himself been selected by Akbar to accompany an embassy to Abdullah Khan Uzbek, in the 22nd year of the reign.

people of Lahore exhumated his vile carcase, and burnt it."

The author of the *Másiru-l-Umrá* adds a few particulars respecting Mullá Ahmed, in his biography of Faulád Khán. He says that the accomplice of Mírzá Faulád personated one of the royal messengers, and summoned the Mullá to the king's presence, that when the Mullá had left his house, he was attacked, and had one of his hands cut off by a sword, that the assassins, mistaking it for his head, ran off, satisfied that their work was accomplished, that he fell from his horse, and when he had recovered a little, picked up his own hand, and went to the house of Hakím Hasan for succour; that when Faulád Khán was seized, he confessed the crime before Abú-l-Fazl, Khán Khánán, and Asaf Khán.

He says also that Mullá Ahmed went in his 22nd year to Mashed, and thence to Yezd and Shiráz, where, under the instructions of the physicians Kamálu-dín Husam and Mullá Mírzá Ján, he entered on a course of medical study, and read the *Kulyát-i-Cánín* of Avicenna, and the *Sharh-i-Tajrid*, with all the commentaries. He then went to Cazwín, where he had an interview with Sháh Tahmásp, and when Sháh Ismail, the second, was converted to the Sunní doctrine, he went to Irák-i-Arab and Mecca, and after mixing with several celebrated scholars in those parts, proceeded to the Deccan, to the Court of Kutb Sháh of Golconda, and in the 27th year of Akbar's reign came to Futehpúr.

Síkri, where he received orders to compile the *Tárikh-i-Alfi*

He used to read out his composition to Akbar, who asked him upon one occasion, why he had dwelt so long upon Khalífa Othmán's reign. He replied openly, says the *Másiru-l-Umrá*, before all the *Túrání* nobles, who were Sunnís, that that period is the "*Rauzatu-s-Shuhadá*"\* of the Sunnís, and to abridge it would give offence.

The inconvenience respecting the introduction of a novel era in the *Tárikh-i-Alfi* has already been noticed. Another serious accusation has been laid against this work, of leaving out several important events during the period it embraces, and especially the omission of the decisive battle of Cadesíah in A. D. 636, which preceded the final subjugation of Persia, has been commented on as a proof of carelessness. But a much greater objection to be made to the *Tárikh-i-Alfi* is the plan of the work—being constructed in the form of Annals, like the tedious Historical Library of Diodorus, and thus we are compelled to turn over page after page of this voluminous history, before we can trace the connection of events in any particular country which may happen to be the subject of our investigation. Nothing but an excellent Index could remedy such a defect.

The Compilers appear to have availed them-

\* The *Rauzatu-s-Shuhadá* "the garden of martyrs" is the name usually given to works recounting the tragical fate of the sons of Ali. The author evidently considers the remark of the Mulla to be witty and severe. He also quotes the retort, of which Abdul-Kádir boasts above, at p. 145, the point of which is not very evident.

selves of all the best sources of information open to them; for there is no historical work, Arabic or Persian, of any celebrity amongst modern European Scholars, which they do not quote—often applying a very judicious criticism in selecting the most trust-worthy records, and rejecting the fabulous legends, with which so many of them abound. The authorities quoted on Indian affairs are few, but more may be mentioned in the Preface, which is said to have been written by Abú-l-Fazl.

#### EXTRACTS.

#### *Anno 68 after the death of Muhammed.*

When Abdullah, the son of Abúbakr, arrived at Nimroz, Hajjáj sent a message, requesting him not to linger at Sejestán, but to march without delay towards Cábul, as signs of rebellion and disaffection had exhibited themselves in the chief, Ráibal, for he had entered into a treaty with the Muhammedans, and agreed to pay a tribute annually into the treasury, and as long as he found the Muhammedans powerful, he paid the tribute, but whenever they were found to be engaged in other affairs, or had encountered any disaster, he withheld it. Abdullah, in obedience to the commands of Hajjáj, turned towards Cábul with the armies of Basra and Kúfa, and as fast as the Muhammadans advanced, Ráibal retreated towards Hindústán. Dáúd Shureih, one of the officers of Abdullah, pursued Ráibal seventeen parasangs. At this time, the ruler of Cábul sent persons to some of the dignitaries and well-wishers of the state, desiring them to secure those roads, by which the Muhammadans had entered the country, in such a manner that they should neither obtain any supplies, nor have the opportunity of retracing their steps. The consequence was, that after a few days such a famine broke out in the Muhammadan camp, that every one despaired of life. Upon this, Abdullah, the son of Shureih Hání, said "it is advisable for us to treat with the infidels, and to offer 70,000\* dirhems, in order that we may prevail upon them to remove the obstacles they have set in our way, and thus betake ourselves to a place

\* In another passage this is 700,000 in the original

of security." Shureih replied, "whatever amount you offer to the infidels, the Dīwān will place to your individual account" Abdullah rejoined, "such a demand even would be preferable to the dreadful alternative of starvation" Shureih said, "my age exceeds a hundred years, and I never expected to arrive at this period of existence It has always been my prayer before the throne of God that I might suffer martyrdom, and the time for its accomplishment has now arrived" Saying this, he mounted his horse, and exclaimed, "O, ye Musulmāns, who have a desire to be martyrs, follow me!" Upon which, a few men came forward, and joined him, and with boldness rushing to the battle field, they charged the infidels, and kept on fighting till they were slain

Abdullah, after paying 70,000 dirhems to the enemy, returned with his followers When they arrived at the Muhammedan frontier, food was served out to them, and so famished were they, that those who satisfied their appetite died immediately When this was known, they appeased their hunger more moderately, and were thus by degrees restored to their former strength

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Anno 377 after the death of Muhammed.*

It appears from authentic history that the following circumstances led to the first conquest of India by Amīr Nāsiru-d-dīn Sabuktigīn

There was a town, called KUSDĀR, near the dominions of Amīr Nāsiru-d-dīn The ruler of this place prided himself much on the strength of his forts, and was elated at the wealth and resources of his kingdom

Amīr Nāsiru-d-dīn invaded this chief's country, and took him prisoner, but ultimately restored him to his possessions on these conditions, that henceforth the coin should be struck, and the Khutba be read, in the Amīr's name, and that a fixed sum out of the revenue of the country should be annually remitted to his treasury

After the termination of the campaign of KUSDĀR,\* Amīr Nāsiru d-dīn meditating a religious war against the infidels, marched towards India, and conquered several forts and towns where the Muhammedan flag had never before waved

This encroachment on the part of the Muhammedans was the cause of much disquietude to the mind of Jupal, the ruler of India, who apprehended that his ancestral dominions would in consequence be wrested from his hands

Accordingly, adopting the only remedy available, he collected his army, and marched towards the Muhammedan territories Amir Nasru-d-din, on the receipt of this intelligence, assembled

\* See Note E



such a considerable force to put down his opponent, as made the very hills and plains groan under their weight. In short, king Jaipál and Amír Násiru-d-din marched against each other from opposite directions, and the two armies met on the frontiers of India, where a battle was fought with such slaughter, that the earth was incarnadined with human blood, and the warriors of both armies, and the combatants of both countries, were wounded, and in despair. In this battle Sultán Mahmúd, notwithstanding his tender age, displayed such courage and intrepidity, that the very heavens gazed upon his exploits with wonder.

After the adverse armies had been engaged in repeated conflicts, Amír Násiru-d-din was apprized by some of his adherents that there was a spring in the vicinity of the camp of Jaipál, which, on some filthy substance being thrown into it, would raise such a storm accompanied by lightning, thunder and cold, that no one could endure it.

Amír Násiru-d-din, accordingly, ordered some ordure to be thrown into the spring. This being done, the skies were instantly overcast with clouds, attended with lightning and thunder; the bright day became dark as night, and the cold was so intense, that the blood congealed in the warriors' veins. The Indians were so filled with consternation, that they could no longer make a stand against their victorious foes. When king Jaipál saw this, he was in the utmost dismay and grief, and, determining upon submission, he despatched a messenger to Násiru-d-din with overtures of peace, engaging to pay annually a heavy tribute to the conqueror, to present him with a number of elephants, and to comply with any other demand which Amír Násiru-d-din might exact from him. He also agreed to acknowledge the Amír's supremacy in the provinces of Hindústán.

Amír Násiru-d-din, with his accustomed humanity and benevolence, readily accepted the terms proposed by king Jaipál.

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Anno 388 after the death of Muhammed*

It is related in the history of Ibn Kathír of Syria, that, when Sultán Mahmúd, after several severe actions with Jaipál, the king of Hindústán, had at last taken him prisoner, he tore from the neck of his captive a string of splendid jewels, of the value of 80,000 dínárs, and, after a time, ordered him to be released from prison, and restored to his own country, in order that he might convey to his subjects the impression he has received of the pomp and power of the Muhammedans, but that when king Jaipál reached his own country, he was so overwhelmed

with shame, that he forthwith threw himself on a funeral pyre, and perished in the flames.

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Anno 426 after the death of Muhammed*

One of the events of this year was, that three of the principal Rájas of Hind, having formed a confederacy, with an intent to deliver Lahore from the Muhammedans who had risen up in rebellion against Maudúd, son of Mas'úd, laid siege to the city. Upon this, the leader of the Muhammedan army again made submission to Maudúd, and collected together the entire Muhammedan force. When the Rájá knew that the Muhammedans had again submitted to Maudúd, son of Mas'úd, two of them withdrew to their country, but the third, whose name was Deopál Haruáma, delayed his retreat, in order to try his strength with the Muhammedans

The latter, when satisfied of their superiority, made a sally, compelled the Rájá to fly before them, and killed many infidels in the pursuit

The Rájá retired within a stronghold, which the Muhammedans invested. The fort being a small one, and the troops which accompanied the Rájá to that place amounting to five thousand horsemen and seventy thousand foot soldiers, the infidels found themselves on the verge of destruction, and sent deputies to the Muhammedans begging for quarter, but the Muhammedans would not consent, unless the infidels surrendered every one of their fortresses.

At length, when the infidels had no other alternative than to yield, they accepted the conditions, and saved their lives

The property and treasure of all their forts fell into the hands of the Muhammedans, together with five thousand Muhammedan slaves, who were imprisoned in them. These having been set free, joined the victorious army.

When the Muhammedan army had settled affairs with Rájá Deopál, who was superior to all the kings of Hind in power and grandeur, they directed their attention to another Rájá, named Máb Bálrí, who, when he received the intelligence thereof, set his troops in order, and advanced with a determination to fight with the Muhammedans

Upon the meeting of the two armies the fire of battle was kindled, and notwithstanding the inferiority of the Muhammedan forces, which did not amount to one-tenth of those opposed to them, they, by the help of providence and the influence of their victorious banners, attacked the enemy with such fury, that the Rájá was sent to perdition, and five thousand of his army fell on

the field of battle The Muhammedans obtained considerable booty, and when the chiefs of Hind were informed of these circumstances, they gave in their submission, and by the offer of tribute, kept themselves free from the destructive swords of the Muhammedans

\*       \*       \*       \*       \*

### *Anno 482 after the death of Muhammed.*

When Ibráhím, son of Mas'úd, was satisfied that there was no apprehension of any opposition from the Saljúkians, he dispatched an army towards Hindústán, and conquered several places that had not been captured by his predecessors, notwithstanding their power and resources. One of the places which submitted to the conqueror, was a fort of Júd, which surpassed all others in strength and extent. It was situated 120 parasangs distant from Laháwar, and at the time when Ibráhím commenced operations against the fort, there was a garrison in it of ten thousand men, who fought several times against the invader. Finding Ibráhím's efforts and resources to capture the fort very great, the garrison became dispirited, and although they had sufficient supplies and plenty of water, they nevertheless surrendered on condition that their lives should be spared. After capturing this fort, Ibráhím directed his attention towards another, called Damal,\* which was situated on the summit of a high hill on the borders of Hindústán, on one side of this fort there was a large river, reported to be almost impassable by human beings, and on the other, a large thorny jungle, into which nothing but the rays of the sun could penetrate. The jungle was, moreover, said to be infested by venomous serpents, flies, &c

One part of the jungle abounded with elephants as huge as mountains, and it was inhabited by a race of Hindús of an enormous strength and stature. Of all the places in Hindústán Ibráhím found this the most inaccessible. At the foot of the hill there was no level ground suited for his operations.

Ibráhím, nevertheless, with his usual courage, made an attempt to take the fort, and through the aid of God, soon captured it. He took possession of an immense quantity of property and jewels, the like of which had never been seen.

Ibráhím next marched towards Derápúr, in Hindústán, a place which many great emperors found it impracticable to con-

\* Probably the place subsequently called Núrúpúr, which has a fort built of stones and mud on an eminence about two hundred feet high, at the base of which flows a small river, a feeder of the Rávt, which it joins about thirty miles lower down.—Thornton's *Gazetteer*, Vol. II p 83.

quer Several histories state that this place was inhabited by the descendants of the people of Khorásán, who for their disloyal and rebellious conduct had been long before banished the country by Afrásiáb, emperor of Túrán. This place was densely populated, and was of considerable strength. There was a large reservoir of water in it, the diameter of which was half a parasang, and though both men and beasts used to drink of it, yet it was always full throughout the year. During the time the tribe alluded to dwelt in this place, the rulers of Hindústán never dared to attack it, from a conviction of its impregnable strength.

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Anno 547 after the death of Muhammed.*

When Aláu-d-Dín received intelligence of what had happened to his brother, he collected a large army, and proceeded to Ghaznín, with a view to avenge his cause. It is alleged by some historians that before the arrival of Aláu-d-Dín at Ghaznín, Bahrám Sháh died, and that his son succeeded him, but later authorities being aware that this assertion was not correct, have stated in their histories that Bahrám Sháh, having been informed of the approach of Aláu-d-Dín, levied forces from every part of his own country, and came out of Ghaznín to engage Aláu d-Dín. Bahrám at first sent a message to Aláu-d Dín to the effect that it was advisable for him to abandon his groundless hope, and to return before he incurred disgrace. It is related that there were two heroes of Ghor, called Sirfil,\* who were of incomparable strength and valour among Ghorians, and when the ambassador of Bahrám Sháh returned, Sultán Aláu-d-Dín, having called these heroes, addressed them in these words: "In answer to Bahrám Sháh I have told him, that if he has *Fil* (elephants), I have *Sirfil* (the chief of elephants). Be on your guard therefore, and take care that you overpower the elephants opposed to you."

Both these heroes, after kissing the earth, replied, "As long as life remains, we shall be firm to our duty, and will not spare ourselves." In short, when the two armies came in contact with each other, and the flame of battle was kindled,† the Ghorian heroes, with daggers in their hands, crouched beneath the bellies of the elephants, and ripped them open. One of the two heroes perished on the field, and the other survived the battle.

\* This appears the correct reading. Briggs (*Ferishta*, I 154) reads Khurmil, and adds a note expressing his doubts if Firmil be not meant. The witicism which follows is not mentioned by *Ferishta*, and the *Rauzat-u-s-Safá* omits all notice of these two heroes.

† This is a phrase that the compiler is remarkably fond of, the description of an action in the field rarely occurs without it.

It is said that the Sultán covered his coat of mail on the day of battle with a red silk vest, and when some one enquired the cause, he replied, "if I am shot by an arrow, and the blood gush out of the wound, my army will not be discouraged." During the heat of battle, Daulat Sháh, son of Bahrám Sháh, a prince of incomparable bravery, collected together a few valiant men, and with the entire body of his elephants made a simultaneous attack upon the Ghorian army. Alá-u-d-Dín ordered his infantry in the front line to retire, and open a passage for them. Daulat Sháh, thinking that the Ghorian army was broken, advanced with a chosen body of men, who were immediately surrounded by the Ghorians, for the infantry of Alá-u-d-Dín returned to their former position on a signal given by the king, and cut off the retreat of Daulat Sháh, who after displaying many acts of personal prowess, was put to the sword with all those who followed him. Bahrám Sháh, on perceiving this, took alarm, and fled away with precipitation. The Ghorians pursued the men of Ghaznín, till Bahrám Sháh reached a distance of one parasang from Ghaznín, where he halted, in order to allow his dispersed troops to join him. In this place he rallied, and made another stand, but being unsuccessful, was again compelled to fly. The Sultán pressed on to Ghaznín, and there, while engaged in drinking wine on the top of the citadel, he ordered his soldiers to plunder and massacre the inhabitants of Ghaznín without mercy. In the execution of these cruel orders, in which his army was engaged for seven days, so utterly was Ghaznín destroyed, that there remained not a trace of its buildings.

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Anno 592 after the death of Muhammed*

It is mentioned in authentic Histories that when Shahábu-d-Dín was defeated by the Turks of Khutá, on his return from Khwárazm, as has been already related, it was currently reported throughout the kingdom, that Shahábu-d-Dín had been missed in the field of battle, and there was no certainty whether he had perished or escaped. Consequently, enemies rose up on all sides, and every one encroached upon a portion of his kingdom. Among other enemies, one named Rásál, who lived in the mountains between Lahore, Cábul, and the sandy desert, having united with a number of Kokars, who dwelt in those parts and paid tribute to the treasury of Shahábu-d-Dín, excited a rebellion, began to plunder that tract, and intercept the communications between Lahore and Ghaznín, so that no one could pass from one to the other.

Upon the return of Shahábu-d-Dín to Ghaznín in safety, as before mentioned, he was informed of these transactions, and

consequently resolved to proceed to Hindustán, and punish the rebellious spirits of that country. For this purpose, he sent an order to Amír Muhammed, son of Abí Alí, whom he had appointed Governor of Lahore and Múltán, desiring them to despatch the tribute of the year 601 H. as soon as possible, as it was necessary to make preparations for an expedition to Khitá. Muhammed, son of Alí, wrote in answer, that the tribute of the year had been collected and was ready, but that the Kokars and Rásál, who were in possession of the Hills of Júdí, had stopped the communication between Lahore and Ghaznín, in such a manner that no body could travel on the road. When this account reached the ears of Shahábu-d-Dín, he wrote to Kutbu-d-Dín, his slave, who was the commander of the army of Hind, to send some person to the Kokars, and dissuade them from persisting in such evil courses, and to inform them, that if they repented and came again under allegiance, he would pardon their past offences.

When Kutbu d-Dín Eibek, according to the order of Shahábu-d-Dín, sent a person to the Kokars, desiring them to submit themselves to the pleasure of the Sultán, the son of Kokar replied, that Kutbu-d-Dín had no authority to issue such a mandate, that Sultán Shahábu-d-Dín should have sent a special messenger of his own, and further, that if he had been really alive, he should have sent direct for the tribute, when the Kokars would have despatched it to him. The ambassador replied, "You are not of sufficient consequence for Sultán Shahábu-d-Dín to send any messenger to you, it is great honor to you that he has sent even me, who am his slave's slave." The son of Kokar replied, "This is a mere fable, Shahábu d-Dín no longer lives to issue any orders." The ambassador rejoined, "It may easily be ascertained by your sending any one of your confidential servants who can go, and convince his own eyes, whether Shahábu-d-Dín be alive or not." In short, the son of Kokar being determined not to listen to the ambassador, remained firm in his rebellious disposition. When the ambassador of Kutbu-d-Dín returned, and gave an account of what he had seen and heard, Kutbu-d-Dín related the circumstances to Sultán Shahábu-d-Dín, who ordered him to collect the several armies of Hindustán, to proceed against the Kokars, and to exterminate them from the face of the earth. When this mandate reached Kutbu-d-Dín, he was already making preparations to march against that nation. In the meantime, Shahábu-d-Dín deferred his expedition to Khitá, and caused his army to return, as complaints of the violence and oppression of the Kokars were frequently coming in, accompanied with accounts of their great and increasing power, so that he considered it his duty, first to repulse these people and punish them severely, before detaching his forces to any other quarter. For this reason Shahábu-d-Dín gave up for the present the idea of proceeding to Khitá.

On the 5th of Rabíu-l-awwal of the same year, Sultán Shaháb-

u-d-Dín returned towards Ghaznín, and when after some days he arrived at Persháwar, he learned that the Kokars had taken up a position between the Jailam and Sudrah, with a large army. Having marched from Persháwar on Thursday the 25th of the said month, he attacked them unexpectedly, and the battle lasted from morning till the afternoon of that day. The Kokars fought so valiantly, that the Sultán, with all his kingly power and resources, was very near being compelled to retreat, but, in the meantime, Kutbu-d-Dín Eibek, arriving with the army of Hindustán, began to make havoc among the Kokars, and as his forces were fresh and vigorous, the Kokars were soon overpowered, and had recourse to flight. The Muhammedans pursuing, dealt slaughter among them in a manner which defies all description. Those who escaped the sword fled to the woods and jungles. The Muhammedans set fire to their retreat on all sides, and the infidels, entering into a solemn covenant not to surrender themselves into the hands of the Muhammedans, threw themselves into the fire. In this manner all of them, who had taken refuge in the woods, perished. When the attention of the Sultán was relieved of the anxiety occasioned by these transactions, he marched towards Lahore, and gave leave to his soldiers to return to their homes, ordering them to march towards Khitá after a few days' repose \*

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*            \*

### *Anno 698 after the death of Muhammed*

In this year, Sultán Aláu-d-Dín, King of Hindústán, proceeded to Siwána on a hunting expedition, when the chief of that place took to his fort and offered opposition. The fort was soon captured, and this was the first occasion that it had been taken. Sumer Deo, the chief (Mukaddam), perished with several thousands of Hindús. In the same year, the fort of Kalwar came into the possession of Aláu-d-Dín's army. The detail of the case is this — Káthar Deo, Governor of the fort of Kalwar, had upon one occasion gone to the Sultán to pay his respects, when

\* This tribe is variously denominated by Muhammedan authors, Kúkar, Kokar, Gakkar, Ghúkar, Ghakar. The last appears to be the most correct. Shortly after this expedition they were converted to Islám, their chieftain having obtained his release from captivity by becoming a proselyte, and promising to use his endeavours to convert his tribe. They often appear subsequently upon the stage of Indian history, and rarely but as turbulent and rapacious marauders. Their descendants have somewhat receded from their old haunts, and now occupy the country to the south and east of the upper course of the Behat. They call themselves descendants of the Karánians, but polyandry and some other of their customs would seem to indicate a Tartar origin.

the Sultán boasted that there was no Zemíndár at that time in Hindústán who had power to withstand his troops. Upon this, Káthar Deo, with exceeding folly replied, that he would die rather than submit tacitly to such an assumption. The Sultán being enraged at this, dismissed him, and he returned to his own country. The Sultán then sent a female slave, named Gul Behisht, against him. Gul Behisht had a son called Mahk Sháhín, who accompanied her on the expedition against Káthar Deo. Just as the garrison were beginning to despair, Gul Behisht happened to die, and Káthar Deo, sallying from the fort, attacked Mahk Sháhín and killed him. Upon the death of both the son and mother, the command of the army devolved on Kamálu-d-Dín, who took the fort, and put Káthar Deo to death.

I have seen no notice of the existence of this work in European libraries. Parts of it are to be met with in India, but not one library, which I know of, contains a perfect copy. It is a work of great size. The portion I have seen was a Folio of 1646 pages, with 40 lines to a page, and it was very incomplete. At Haiderábád there is a copy in two volumes, which, though imperfect, contains, in the first Vol, 1336 pages of 19 lines each, and, in the second, 2066 pages of 31 lines each. One of the best Manuscripts is in the possession of the Nuwáb of Murshedábád, which is thus described.

The 2nd Vol consist of 976 pages of 20 lines, and contains the events from the year 127 to 500, after the death of Muhammed.

The 3rd Vol consists of 640 pages of 20 lines, and contains the events from the year 501 to 672.

The 4th Vol consists of 1092 pages of 21 lines, and contains the events from the year 673 to 974.

Two more Volumes therefore are required to make this work complete. I was anxious to



make further enquiries about the Nuwáb's copy, but the librarian seemed indisposed to furnish any more information respecting it, and gave evasive answers; evincing thereby a suspicion, which, if anywhere, is certainly excusable in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, where commercial profligacy has brought the European character into very low repute.\*

\* It will be observed at p 150 that the author, Mullá Ahmed, was inveigled out of his house by a man who personated one of the Royal messengers. This official is called in the original by the Turkish word *Cháús*, which was, and is, except metaphorically, rarely used in India. *Cháús*, or *Cháwush*, signifies a Lictor, a king's Serjeant, an Officer of the Court. His proceedings upon this occasion confirm the bad reputation of a class, from which, only a few years afterwards, we were enabled to coin our expressive word *chouse*. In A D 1609, a *Cháús* from the Grand Signior committed a gross fraud upon the Turkish and Persian merchants resident in England, by cheating them out of £4000 (Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, iv 27). Hence, from the notoriety of the circumstance, came the expression to *chouse*, just as within the last twenty years we have got to *burke*, and some other very significant terms.

The authors of the period caught gladly at the expression, and familiarized it to after ages by making frequent use of it. Richardson gives the following instances —

Gul, or Mogul,  
Tag rag, or other hogen-mogen, varden,  
Ship-jacks, or *chouses*

Ford, *Lady's Trial* II 2

*Dap* What do you think of me, that I am a *Chiaus*?

*Face* What's that?

*Dap.* The Turk was here. As one would say, do you think I am a Turk?

*Face* Come, noble doctor, pray thee, let's prevail, this is the gentleman, and he is no *Chiaus*.

Ben Jonson, *Alchemist*, I 1

He stole your cloak and pick'd your pocket,  
*Chous'd* and *caldes'd* ye like a blockhead

Butler, *Hudibras*, II 3

It is obvious to remark, that if, in the age of our forefathers, cheating to the extent of only £4000 was sufficient to consign a whole class to an immortality of infamy, how many more expressive words, dissyllables as well as monosyllables, might not the transactions of 1847-48 encourage us to add to our vocabulary, since even £40000 is not sufficient to satiate the voracity of a Calcutta *Cháús*.

## NOTE D

*On the capture of Nasibin by means of Scorpions*

The Nasibin,\* mentioned in the text, is the Nisibis of classical authors, the position of which on the frontier of the Persian and Roman Empires, made its occupation of so much importance in the estimation of the contending parties, from the time that Lucullus plundered it, till its capture by the Arabs. It was surrounded by a treble inclosure of brick walls defended by a deep ditch, and was considered so impregnable, that Asiatics, as will be presently seen, are fond of resorting to supernatural means to account for its capture. Sapor made three separate attacks upon the town A. D. 338, 346, 350, and the disappointed monarch, after urging his attacks above sixty, eighty, and an hundred days, was repulsed each time with loss and ignominy,† but it was at last ceded to him by Jovian‡ in 363, and it remained henceforth with

\* See above p. 146. Marmet says the town is called Nisibin, or Nissabin but neither mode of orthography is consistent with Abu-l-feda. Vide *Geogr. d. Aboulf. texte Arabe* p. 283.

† Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* Vol. III. p. 139.

‡ In speaking of this humiliating treaty, Eutropius gives us a good notion of the political honesty of the Romans, by censuring Jovian for not immediately breaking the treaty, and renewing the war as the Romans had done in all former occasions, immediately he had escaped from the dangerous position which had compelled him to conclude it.—*Histor. Rom. Breviar.* A. 17. The capitulation of Closter-Seven,

the Persians, (if we except two short intervals,) as it had remained for the two previous centuries with the Romans, a strong bulwark against hostile encroachments

On the third occasion of Sapor's attack, unusual means were resorted to to obtain possession of the place. At the stated season of the melting of the snows in Armenia, the course of the river Mygdonius was, by the labour of the Persians, stopped below the town, and the waters were confined on every side by solid mounds of earth. On this artificial lake, a fleet of armed vessels, filled with soldiers and heavy engines of war, was launched, and the accumulated pressure of the waters made a portion of the walls give way. Nevertheless, the monarch failed of success, and Nisibis retained its character as an inexpugnable stronghold.\*

Under one of his predecessors, Sapor I, the Sháhpúr of the Persians, Mírkhond informs us that a miracle placed the town in the hands of the Persian Monarch. Wearied with the siege, Sháhpúr commanded his army to unite in supplication to the Supreme Being for its conquest, and while they were imploring the aid of heaven, the wall fell down before them, and their faith and devotion received a signal reward †

during the seven years' war, for a suspension of arms in the north of Germany, and the convention of El-Arish in 1800, for the evacuation of Egypt by the French armies, have called forth the opinion of modern jurists on the general question. See Wheaton's *Elements of International Law* Vol II pp 120—122, and Flassan's, *Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*, Tom VI pp 97—107

\* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Vol III. p 141

† Malcolm, *History of Persia*, Vol I p 77

Nisibis is now but a small and insignificant place, with scarcely more than one hundred houses, but it is surrounded with ruins which attest its former magnificence \*

The facts above related, with reference to the many obstinate defences of Nasibín, show how natural it was that a credulous oriental writer should resort to the marvellous to account for such unusual success as attended the arms of the Arabs in the seventeenth year of the Hijí

The passage against which the captious opponent of Abdu-l-Kádír took exception, runs thus in the *Tárikh-i-Alfi*, in the Annals of the seventh year after the death of Muhammed. Very few of the Arabic historians notice the circumstance recorded in it, nor do Ockley, Price, Gibbon, or Marigny mention it

“The army of Islám sat eight months before the fort of Nasibín. Now, in and around that city, there were exceedingly large black scorpions, and no man who was bitten by them escaped with his life. The Arab General consequently gave orders that a thousand small jars should be filled with these reptiles, enclosed in loose mould around them, and that they should be thrown at night into the city by the engines. As the jars broke when they fell on the ground, the scorpions crawled out, and killed every one whom they stung. In the morning the garrison

\* *Jahan-numá*, p. 438. Niebuhr *Joyages*, Vol. II pp. 300—309. Compare also Mannert, *Geographie d. Griech. und Róm.* Vol. V. pp. 216—219. Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. VII. 1. pp. 128—136.

were so dispirited, and found themselves reduced to such extremities, that they could no longer hold the fort. The Musulmáns taking advantage of their consternation, made a sudden assault, broke open the gates, and slew several who had escaped the venom of the scorpions. It is said that in the time of Noshírwán the fort of Nasíbín was captured in precisely the same way."

If we concur with the objector, and hesitate to receive this narrative as true, we may perhaps be able to explain it in some other more rational manner. In the first place, it may occur to us as not altogether improbable, that this story owes its origin to the use of the propelling machine called the "Scorpion," which we learn from Vegetius,\* was so called, because it threw small javelins with fine points which occasioned death. Others say because the darts were poisoned †

Later writers may have copied the statement, and put an interpretation upon it suited to their own comprehensions. It is to be observed that the Scorpion was used, even in Europe, as late as 1428 A. D.‡

There seems to be another way of accounting for this improbable story, if we reject the literal meaning of the words, by supposing that a combustible composition, formed of some bituminous substances, was used upon the occasion. We know from several excellent authorities,

\* *De re militari* IV 32

† Eschenburg, *Marital* p 544

‡ Muratori, *Script Ital* Tom XXI, 215

that for many years before the invention of gunpowder, such substances were used in warfare, and, what is still more remarkable, that the cases in which they were enveloped were known by the name of *Scorpions*. Casiri\* gives us the following extract from an Egyptian Geographer, called Shaliábu-d-Dín,† who flourished about A. D. 1250. “Bodies, in the form of *Scorpions*, bound round, and filled with nitrous powder, glide along, making a gentle noise, then they explode, and throw out flames. But there are others which, cast into the air, stretch along like a cloud, roaring horribly as thunder roars, and on all sides vomiting out flames, they burst, and burn, and reduce to cinders whatever comes in their way.” It is also a very curious coincidence, that the ancient Indian weapon, or rocket, called Satagní, with the etymological meaning of the hundred-slayer, should also signify a *Scorpion* ‡

As there will be occasion again to allude to the early use of gunpowder in the East, there is no need to dwell upon this passage from the Egyptian author with any reference to that subject. It is merely adduced here, to show the undoubted use at an early period of a combustible, called a *Scorpion*.

Now, it is remarkable that Dion Cassius, in speaking of the expedition of Alexander Se-

\* *Biblioth. Arab. Hisp.* Vol. II. p. 7.

† Berington gives his name as Ebn Fadhl, but that only shows his parentage — *Literary History of the middle ages*, p. 438.

‡ See Wilson's *Sanskrit Dictionary* ५ शतज्ञा, and Halhed's *Code of Gentoo Laws* p. LII.

verus against Atra, which was close to Nisibis, says that, in the last extremity, the Atreni defended themselves by throwing Naphtha\* both upon the besiegers and upon their engines, by which they were burnt and destroyed.

Three hundred years before this, the same author tells us, that when Lucullus was besieging Tigranocerta, not fifty miles† from Nisibis, "the barbarians" defended themselves by throwing Naphtha balls against the engines "This substance is bituminous, and so inflammable that it burns to ashes every thing on which it impinges, nor is it easily extinguished by any thing wet"‡

Nor can we wonder that these noxious implements "fed with naphtha and asphaltus" should have been so frequently and so early used in Mesopotamia; for from the Persian Gulf to the Euxine, from the Dead Sea, where asphaltum floats on the water, to Bákú on the Caspian, where naphtha streams spontaneously through the surface of the soil, and where a boiling lake emits constant flames, the whole country is impregnated with bituminous matter, which is especially abundant on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates§—so that if the Scorpions

\* ὁ δὲ νάφθα ὁ ἀσφαλτῶδες (Dionis Hist Rom lxxv 11) "of which," he adds, "I have already written"—alluding probably to the passage mentioned in the next paragraph of the text

† Tacitus says thirty-seven miles *Annal* xv 4

‡ Dionis *Fragmenta* 178, ex Xiphilino The same author, in his life of Caligula, tells us of that Emperor's having a machine, which projected a stone, accompanied with thunderings and lightnings

§ Rich, *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vol. III p 161. See also respecting the immortal fire in Lycia, Plin *Nat Hist* II 106 Salmassius, *Exercitad Pliniar*, pp 244, 245, and Beckmann's notes to the treatise *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, attributed to Aristotle, p 233

alluded to by Abdu-l-Kádír were combustible, there would be no great improbability in the narrative

But if we reject these solutions as too elaborate and remote, we must fall back upon the literal interpretation, and, improbable as it is, there are many reasons to encourage us to maintain that it is strictly true

In the first place, the application of living scorpions to such an improbable purpose would not be altogether a novel stratagem. The *Tárikh-i-Yemíní* tells us, that Khalaf defended himself in the fort of Ark, by throwing from his Catapults snakes upon the besieging army. The following occurs at p. 37 of the lithographed edition.—

يُقْلُّ اسْتِنَاتُهَا بِالطَّنِّ وَالْحَسَنِ إِيَّاهُمَا لِلْنِّيَاتِ وَإِطْلَاعًا  
مِنْ مَا نُوفِ الْحَبَاتِ وَقَدْ مَا يُحْرِبِ الْأَمَاعِي عَنْ أَمَوَاهِ الْمُكَابِقِ  
وَالْعَرَادَاتِ حَتَّى يَصْطَرُّوا بِدَلِكِ إِلَى الْإِرْتِحَالِ وَالتَّقْلِ مِى الْمَضَارِبِ  
وَالْمُحَالِّ دُنُقُوهُنَاكَ مُرَانَةً سَنَعَ سَيِّدِينَ عَلَى هَذِهِ الْحُمْلَةِ

M. de Sacy,\* in abstracting this passage from the translation of Jerbádkhání, says “ils lançoient sur les troupes de Hossain des cruches remplies de scorpions et de reptiles venimeux.” For this there is no authority in the original, but Rashídu-d-dín also says in his *Jánuu-t-*

\* *Notices et Extraits*, Tom. IV. p. 339



Tawáríkh, that scorpions, as well as snakes, were used upon the occasion. At fol. 8 of his History of Sultán Mahmúd we read :—

و چون نهنگ سوار و پیداد را فرو می برد و خلف بغنون زرق و حیل  
معمرا را پریشان میداشت و هرجائیکه مقام می ساختند سبورها  
پر مار و گردم از منخن منجنیق دیسان می انداخت و از ما می  
ایستاد مکن می ساخت

Abú-l-fedá, Mirkhond, and the Tabakát-i-Násirí have nothing on the subject.

Cornelius Nepos and Justin inform us, that by means precisely similar Hannibal dispersed the superior fleet of Eumenes.

“Imperavit (Hannibal) quam plurimas venenatas serpentes vivas colligi, easque in vasa fictilia conjici. Harum cum confecisset magnam multitudinem, die ipso, quo facturus erat navale prælium, classarios convocat, hisque præcipit, omnes ut in unam Eumenis regis concurrant navem, a cæteris tantum satis habeant se defendere; id facile illos serpentium multitudine consecuturos.” \*

Then again we find the Atreni, noticed above, making use of this very mode of defence against the troops of the Roman Emperor Herodian says,† (and Gibbon‡ has declared his account of this reign to be rational and moderate, and consistent with the general his-

\* Cornel. Nep. *Hannibal*, 10 See also, Justin *Hist. Philipp* XXXII 4

† This passage and the one given from Dion Cassius refer to the same expedition We need not stay to enquire whether the difference of the accounts arises from omission or contradiction

‡ See *Decline and Fall*, Vol. I. p. 267.

tory of the age,) "They cast upon them large birds and poisonous animals\* which fluttered before their eyes, and penetrated every part of their bodies that was exposed," \* \* \* "so that more perished by these means than by direct attacks of the enemy."†

Frontinus also speaks of this mode of warfare in his book of stratagems;‡ and we read of something like it being practised by the Soanes, a people of Colchis, near Caucasus, who endeavoured to suffocate, with poisonous exhalations, those enemies, with whom they could not contend in close combat;§ as well as at the sieges of Jotopata and Jerusalem, when dead bodies of men and horses were thrown by the war-machines on the besieged ||

Moreover, we know from unquestionable testimony, that scorpions abound so much in the neighbourhood of Nasíbín, as to be the object of special remark by Oriental Geographers

Istakhrí, or the author translated by Ouseley, speaking of Kurdan, close to Nasíbín, says—"It produces deadly scorpions; and the hill on which it stands abounds in serpents, whose stings occasion death"¶

Abú-l-fedá, quoting Azízí, says, "At Nasíbín there is an abundance of white roses, but a

\* The ἰδβολῶν θηρίων refers most probably to scorpions, and though it must be confessed the use of ἰδβολῶν is ambiguous, yet when coupled with θηρίων, the poisonous nature of the missile is evident.

† Hierodiani *Histor. Roman.* Lib. III. c. 9

‡ Sex. Jul. Frontini *Stratagematic.* Lib. IV. c. 7

§ Strabo, *Geograph.* Lib. XI. c. 2

|| Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* Lib. III. c. 7—9

¶ Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 56

red rose is not to be seen There are also deadly scorpions.”\*

Edrisí also notices, in his geographical work, the deadly scorpions of Nasíbín†

Taking, therefore, into consideration these concurrent testimonies to the fact of venomous reptiles being sometimes used in warfare, and to their abundance in the vicinity of Nasíbín, we may pronounce in favor of Abú-l-Kádír and his Arab authorities, and declare him justified in exclaiming, “ that he had not been guilty of any fabrication, that he had seen the anecdote in books, and had written accordingly ; and that, as the accuracy of his statement has been fully verified, he is, by God’s grace, relieved from the charge of invention ”

\* *Geographie d Aboulféda*, p 233

† *Recueil d Voy et d Mém* Tom VI p 150

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## NOTE E

*On KUSDÁR*

The passage in the text, (p. 153) would seem to imply that KUSDÁR was a city of India, and it is so called by ABÚ-L-FEDÁ and CAZVÍNÍ. The compiler of the *TÁRÍKH-I-ALFÍ* copies the whole of his narrative, with only a few verbal alterations, from the *RAUZATU-S-SAFÁ*, but the first clause is an addition of his own, from which it appears that KUSDÁR was by him thought to be the first city conquered in India, but as it was so remote from JAIPÁL'S possessions, it does not seem probable that its capture could have inspired him with such fear for his own safety as the text represents, nor is it proper at any period to place the borders of India so far to the west.

The name of this town is so differently spelt by different authors, that it is not often easy to recognize it in its various disguises.

Its position is sufficiently indicated by the *TÁRÍKH-I-YEMÍNÍ*,\* which, speaking of a period subsequent to that noticed in the text, tells us that when MAHMÚD thought it necessary to chastise the Governor of KUSDÁR, because he would not pay his tribute, he gave out that he

\* See also *Táríkh-i-Yemíní*, Lith. Ed. p. 316

was going on an expedition to Herát, and had marched as far as Bust on that route, in order to disguise his intention, when he suddenly turned off towards KUSDÁR, and came so unexpectedly upon it, that the rebellious Governor came out and supplicated for pardon, and was reinstated after paying a considerable fine, as a penalty for his disobedience.

KUSDÁR lies to the south of Bust, and is the present Khozdar of our maps, the capital of Jhaláwan in Belúchistán.\* It is spelt both *قصدار* and *قردار*, according to Abú-l-fedá, but both he and Sádik Isfahání prefer the former. The latter however is the most usual mode of spelling it.

Von Hammer† says that Wilken is correct in writing it Kasdar, but this is by no means authorized by either of the two Geographers mentioned above. Sádik Isfahání‡ spells it Kisdár, and Abú-l-fedá§ KUSDÁR, and to his authority we must defer, as he is so very careful in specifying the vowel-points. Briggs calls it in one place Kandahar, in another Khoozdar.¶ The Nubian Geographer calls it Kardán Fardán,¶ and Cazvini, Kasrán Kasrán.\*\* M. Petis de la Croix calls it Custar, and M. Silvestre de Sacy Cosdar.††

\* Masson, *Balochistan, Afghanistan, and Panyab*, Vol. II. p. 41.

† *Gemäldeaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*, Vol. IV. p. 106

‡ *Tahrímu-l-Buldán*, p. 122

§ *Géographie d'Aboufeda*, Texte Arabe, pp. 348, 349

¶ Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. I. pp. 15, 123

¶ *Geographia Nubiensis*, pp. 64, 67, 63

\*\* Gildemeister, *De rebus Indicis*, p. 174

†† *Notices et Extr. d MSS*, Tom IV. pp. 332, 391.

When Ibn Haukal visited the valley of Sind, he found KUSDÁR under a separate government, and during the whole period of Arab occupation it was considered a place of importance. He describes it as a city and district between TÚRÁN and SIND KUSDÁR is frequently mentioned by Biládorí, as will be noticed hereafter, when we come to the period of the Arab conquest of Sind He quotes an Arabic poet, who thus rapturously speaks of its merits.

“Almonder has descended into his tomb at KUSDÁR, deprived of all commerce with people endowed with reason.”

“What a beautiful country is KUSDÁR ! how distinguished its inhabitants ! and how illustrious both for his worldly policy as well as his religious duties was the man who now lies buried in its soil !”\*

\* Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p 188 Compare also Pottinger, *Travels in Belochistan*, p 36 C Ritter, *Erdb. von Asien*, Vol VI Part I pp 714, 715 Gildemeister, *De rebus Indicis*, pp 25, 209 *Wien Jahrbucher*, No. LXXIII p 31. Mirchondi *Historia Gasnevidarum*, p 146

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## XX.

## فتوح السلاطين

FUTUHU-S-SALATIN

The "Victories of the Sultáns" would seem, if we may judge by the title, to be a General History. It is quoted in the preface of the *Tabakát-i-Akberí* as one of the authorities on which that history is founded

Ferishta, under the reign of *Ghaiásu-d-Dín Tughlak*, quotes this anecdote from it.

"As the king was near the hills of *Tirhút*, the Raja appeared in arms, but was pursued into the woods. Finding his army could not penetrate them, the king alighted from his horse, called for a hatchet, and cut down one of the trees with his own hand. The troops, on seeing this, applied themselves to work with such spirit, that the forest seemed to vanish before them. They arrived at length at the fort, surrounded by seven ditches full of water, and defended by a high wall. The king invested the place, filled up the ditches, and destroyed the wall in three weeks. The Raja and his family were taken, and great booty was obtained, and the government of *Tirhút* was conferred upon *Ahmed Khán*."

Briggs observes in a note, "I understand this is a compilation of little authority, and may be ranked with the *Jámu-i-Hikáiat*, or other collections of historical romances"



## XXI.

## خزائن الفتوح

KHAZAINU-L-FUTUH

The "Treasuries of Victories," is also one of the authorities quoted in the preface to the *Tabakát-i-Akberí*. It does not appear to what particular reigns this work is devoted, but its name would seem to show that it is a General History.

Amír Khusrú, of Dehli, wrote a prose work, to which he gave this name,—without any reason apparently, for it contains nothing historical, and is filled with poetical fancies. It is the same as is mentioned in the *Mirát-i-Āftáb-numá* and in the other biographies of that poet, under the name of *Tárikh-i-Aláí*.

Another work of this name has been written by a more modern author of Dehli, a Hindú—in which the victories of Lord Lake are celebrated in grandiloquent and verbose, but not very elegant, Persian.





## XXII.

## طبقات اكبري

## TABAKÁT-I-AKBERÍ.

This is one of the most celebrated histories of India, and is the first that was composed upon a new model, in which India alone forms the subject matter of the work, to the exclusion of the histories of other Asiatic countries.

Notwithstanding that Ferishta pronounces this work defective, he has borrowed from it very freely, and has formed his own history of Hindustán and the Deccan entirely on the same plan. It has been of great service also to other compilers, who have followed in the same track. To this work the author of the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawárikh* confesses himself chiefly indebted for the relation of all events down to A. H. 1002, styling the work as the author himself does, *Tabakát-i-Akbersháhí*. It is also known as the *Tárikh-i-Nizámí*, under which name it is also quoted in the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawárikh*, as well as in the *Makhzan-i-Afghání*, and the author himself observes it as a fortunate coincidence, that the word *Nizámí* represents the date of composition. In the *Rauzatu-t-Táhirín*

it appears to be called the *Tárikh-i-Sultán Nizám*. But the name by which it is best known in literary circles is the *Tabakát-i-Akberí*. The compiler of the *Sahíhu-l-Akhbár* attributes another work on Indian History, under the name of *Tárikh-i-Frísh*, to the author of the *Tabakát-i-Akberí*, but I am not aware that there is any good authority for the statement.

Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed, the author of the *Tabakát-i-Akberí*, assigns as the reason for composing his work, that there was no history extant which comprehended the transactions of the whole of India, "which is understood to be one-fourth part of the whole world," and that all the minor kingdoms, of which there were separate histories, had lately been absorbed into the dominions of his Majesty, "who I trust may live till he is master of the seven climes!" He quotes twenty-nine different works as his standard authorities, and states in his preface that he brings down the history till the 37<sup>th</sup> year of Akber's reign, or A. H. 1001,—but in the body of the work he records the events of another year, and expresses a hope that he may live to carry on the work to a later period.

#### CONTENTS

This work contains an Introduction, nine Books, and a Conclusion.

The Introduction consists of some general remarks on the ancient History of India and the Hindús.

Book I.—The History of the first invasion of India by the Muhammedans, and Memoirs of the Ghaznevide dynasty, from A. D. 975 to 1186, pp. 6—36.

Book II.—The History of the Kings of Delhi, from the conquest of that city by the Muhammedans, to A. D. 1593, being

the thirty-eighth year of the reign of the Emperor Akber, pp 36—780.

Book III —The History of the Deccan, or Memoirs of the Kings of Golconda and Bijápúr, from the establishment of the Muhammedans in that country, to A. D. 1593, pp 780—876

Book IV —The History of the Princes of Gujrát, till the subjection of that country by Akber, A. D. 1572, pp 877—1090

Book V —The History of Bengal, from A. D. 1243 to 1522, when it was annexed to the empire of Delhi, by the arms of Báber, pp 1090—1101.

Book VI —Memoirs of the Princes of Málwa, from A. D. 1436 to 1559, when it was reduced by Akber; pp 1101—1191

Book VII —The History of the Province of Sind, for a period of 236 years, till reduced by Akber in A. D. 1572, pp 1191—1202

Book VIII —Memoirs of the Princes of Jaunpúr from A. D. 1465 to 1559, when restored to the empire of Delhi by Akber, pp 1202—1216.

Book IX —The History of the Province of Multán, for a period of 245 years, till reduced by Akber, A. D. 1572, pp 1250—1298.

Conclusion —On the Geography, Topography, and Climate of India

Size—Folio, containing 1298 pages, of 21 lines to a page.\*

The *Másiru-l-Umra* gives the following account of our author.

Khwájah Nizámú-d-dín Ahmed was the son of Khwájah Mukím Harví, who was one of the dependants of His Majesty Báber, and who at the latter part of that king's reign, was raised to the office of *Díwán* of the Household.

After the death of Báber, when Gujrát was conquered by Humayún, and the province of Ahmedábád was entrusted to Mírzá Askerí,

\* This is the division of the work according to Stewart's "Catalogue of Tipú Sultan's Library," but it contains both more and less than I have seen in other copies. In them as in the author's own preface, the History of the Gnaznevides forms the Introduction, and one of the Books is devoted to a History of Cashmir, comprised in 64 pages. The author says, that the conclusion is devoted to the description of certain remarkable peculiarities of Hindústán, and various wise sayings and modern instances. I have not seen this portion. If we allow 20 pages for this, the entire work would amount to 1318 pages.

Khwájah Mukím was appointed Wazír to the Mírzá. He accompanied Humayún to Agra, when that monarch fled with precipitation after his defeat by Sher Khán Súr at Chaunsa. The Khwájah subsequently served under Akber.

His son, Nizámu-d-dín, was incomparably upright, and excelled all his contemporaries in administrative knowledge, as well as in the cleanness of his intellect.

It is stated in the Zakhíratu-l-Khawánín, that, at the opening of his career, he was appointed Diwán of the Household by Akber, but this statement has not been found in any other work.

In the 29<sup>th</sup> year of Akber's reign, when the Government of Gujíat was entrusted to I'timád Khán, the Khwájah was appointed to the office of Bakhshí of that province, and when Sultán Muzaffar of Gujírat engaged in hostilities, I'timád Khán left the Khwájah's son, together with his own, to protect the city, he himself with the Khwájah having quitted it, with the object of bringing over Shahábu-d-dín Ahmed Khán from Kathrí, which is situated at the distance of 40 miles from Ahmedábád; but during their absence the city fell into the hands of the insurgents, and the house of the Khwájah was plundered.

After this, in a battle which was fought with those turbulent people, the Khwájah used his best exertions to quell the insurrection with his small body of troops, in conjunction with Shahábu-d-dín Khán and I'timád Khán, but without success; and he therefore retreated to Pattan.

On the occasion of the Khán Khánán's

attack upon Muzaffar Gujrátí, at Bír Ganj, about six miles from Ahmedábád, the Khwájah was appointed at the head of a detachment to attack the enemy from the rear, but in this action he again did not achieve any success, though he used his best exertions

Nizámu-d-dín continued for a long time Bakhshí of the province of Gujrát.

In 998 A H , and the 34<sup>th</sup> year of the reign, when the government of Gujrát was entrusted to Khán Azam, Súbahdár of Málwa, and Jaunpúr was bestowed upon Khán Khánán, in lieu of his Jágir of Gujrát, Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed was summoned to the king's presence; upon which occasion, with a number of camel-riders, he accomplished 1200 miles by forced marches, and arrived at Lahore\* on the festival of the 35<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the coronation

His camel-riders and retinue being an object of great attraction and wonderment, the king expressed a desire to inspect them, and as he was much gratified at this exhibition of the Khwájah's taste and ingenuity, he conferred great honors upon him.

In the year 37<sup>th</sup> of the reign, when Āsaf Khán Mírzá Ja'far Bakhshí Begí was ordered to destroy Jalálá Raushání, the Khwájah was appointed to the post of Bakhshí.

In the 39<sup>th</sup> year of the reign, corresponding with 1003 H., when the king was out on a hunt-

\* The Wakáat-i-Mushtakí (MS fol 204 r) says, that the party completed this distance of 600 coss in 12 days, i e at the rate of 100 miles a day

ing excursion, the Khwájah was attacked with a severe fever at Shahám Alí, which reduced him very much. His sons obtained permission from the king to convey him to Lahore, but as soon as they arrived at the banks of the Rávi, the Khwájah expired, and "the crocodile of death dragged him into the sea of annihilation."

Nízamu-d-dín is the compiler of the *Tabakát-i-Akberí* \* \* \* \* "Since this work cost the author much care and reflection in ascertaining facts and collecting materials, and as Mír Masúm Bhakarí and other persons of note afforded their assistance in the compilation, it is entitled to much credit. It is the first history which contains a detailed account of all the Muhammedan princes of Hindústán. \* \* \*

From this work Muhammed Kásim Ferishta and others have copiously extracted, and it forms the basis of their histories, deficiencies being supplied by additions of their own; but the *Tabakát* occasionally seems at variance with the accounts given by the celebrated Abú-l-Fazl. It is therefore left to the reader to decide which of the two authors is the most entitled to credit."

Abid Khán, one of his sons, was favoured with frequent marks of distinction by His Majesty Jehángír, and was employed by him in various capacities.

The office of Bakhshí of the Súbah of Gujrát, which devolved on him by hereditary right, was resigned, owing to a disagreement between him and Abdullah Khán Firoz Jang, Gover-

nor of that province, by whom he was most shamefully treated.

After resigning the appointment, he took only two sheets, the one wrapped round his waist, and the other round his head, as if prepared for burial, and went thus before Jehángír accompanied by several Tákíya Moghuls.

This mark of his humiliation was approved of by the king, and he was pardoned.

He was afterwards appointed an immediate attendant of the king, through the recommendation of the heir apparent, and was subsequently promoted to the office of Díwán of that prince. While holding this employment, he, with Sherif Khán Bakhshí and several others of the body-guard, was killed at Akbernagar in Bengal, in a battle fought by the prince on the burial ground, where the body of the son of Ibráhím Khán Fateh Jang was interred.

Abíd Khán had no son. His son-in-law, Muhammed Sherif, was for a short time Governor of a strong fortress in the Deccan, and was afterwards appointed Hájib (chamberlain) of Haiderábád, in which capacity he passed the remainder of his days till his death \*

Abdu-l-Kádír, who, like many others, was as staunch a friend, as he was a bitter foe, gives a very favorable account of Nízamu-d-dín. He says that in carrying into effect his projects of economy, Nízamu-d-dín gave offence to Kalich Khán, but that he received such unqualified

\* *Mástru-l-Umrá s* v Khwájah Nízamu-d-dín

support from the Emperor, who entertained the highest opinion of his zeal and integrity, that his opponent, together with his adherents, were soon provided for in distant posts, instead of being kept at Court, to frustrate the endeavours of Nizámu-d-dín to introduce reform into the departments under his control.

“Nizámu-d-dín,” continues Abdu-l-Kádir, “left a good name behind him. I was especially attached to him by the ties both of religion and friendship. Tears of sorrow fell from my eyes, and I beat my breast with the stone of despair. After a short time, I bowed in resignation to the heavenly decree, but was so much afflicted by the bereavement, that I vowed I would never thereafter cultivate a new friendship with any other man.”

“He died on the 23rd of Safar, 1003, and was buried in his own garden at Lahore. There was not a dry eye at his death, and there was no person who did not, on the day of his funeral, call to mind his excellent qualities, and who did not hold between his teeth the back of the hand of the grief.”

“The following Chronogram records the date of his death.—

“Mizá Nizámu-d-dín has departed; in haste, but with honor, has he gone to his final doom. His sublime soul has fled to the celestial regions, and Kádúí has found the date of his death in these words, ‘A jewel without price has left this world’\*.”

\* *Muntakhabu-l-Tawarikh*, (MS fol. 199 r.)



## EXTRACTS

Upon the death of Sabuktigin, his eldest son, Amír Ismaíl, placed himself on the throne of his deceased father, and determined on depriving Amír Mahmúd of his heritage. Amír Mahmúd overcame him in fight, and ascended the throne of his father.

He marched his army towards Balkh, and took possession of Khorásán. He expelled his contemptible enemies from that country, and on the report of his conquests spreading far and wide, the Khalif of Baghdad, named Alkáder billáh Abbás, sent him a valuable Khilat of such distinction as no Khalif had ever before presented to any King. The Khalif was also pleased to bestow upon him the titles of Aminu-l-Millat and Yemínu-d-Daulah.

At the end of Zi-l-k'ad, A. H. 390, Sultán Mahmúd proceeded from Balkh to Herát, whence marching on Sístán, he reduced to subjection the ruler of that place, named Khalaf Bin Ahmed, and after visiting Ghazní, proceeded to Hindustán. There he captured several forts, and on returning to Ghazní, contracted a nuptial alliance with Ilak Khán, and settled on him the forts in question.

In the month of Shawwál, A. H. 391, Sultán Mahmúd marching again towards Hindustán, reached Persháwar (Pesháwar) with ten thousand horse. Rájá Jaipál opposed him with ten thousand horse, a considerable body of foot, and three hundred elephants.

The two adverse armies displayed much valour, but Sultán Mahmúd at length was victorious. He took Rájá Jaipál prisoner, together with fifteen of his adherents, consisting of his sons and relatives. Five thousand infidels fell on the field of battle. It is said that there was a necklace of precious stones (called Málá, in Hindí) around the neck of Jaipál, valued by those who saw it at one hundred and eighty thousand dinárs. His relatives also had around their necks very valuable necklaces.

This victory was achieved on Saturday, 8<sup>th</sup> Muharram, A. H. 392.

The victor afterwards marched against the Fort of Hind, in which Jaipál resided, which he succeeded in capturing.

At the commencement of spring he returned to Ghazní. In the month of Muharram A. H. 393, he proceeded again to Sístán, reduced Khalaf to obedience, and after bringing him to Ghazní, marched back to Hindustán, with the intention of attacking Bhátia, at which place he arrived by way of Múltán. The Rájá of this place, named Bajar, boasted much of the great number of his soldiers, of his elephants, and of the strength of his forts, and leaving his army to oppose the Sultán, he himself fled with a small number of his followers to the banks of the

Indus The Sultan, on the receipt of this information, detached a body of troops against the Rájá, who on finding he was surrounded, killed himself with a poniard His head was brought to the Sultan, who afterwards put many dependants of the vanquished Rájá to the sword, and carrying with him considerable booty in slaves, elephants and precious articles, the produce of India, returned to Ghazní

\* \* \* \* \*

In A H 423, Khwájah Ahmed, son of Hasan, obtained the kingdom, and Khwájah Abú Nasr Ahmed, son of Muhammed Abdu-s-Samad, who was celebrated for his wisdom and intellect, having been appointed Wazír under him, he went to Khwárazm, repeopled that country, and returned to the court of Amir Mas'úd at Ghazní In the year 424, he proceeded to Hindustán, and laid siege to the fort of Sarsí, which is situated near a pass which leads to Cashmír, captured that fort, obtained much booty, and then returned to Ghazní In 425, he marched to Asal and Sári The natives first attempted to oppose him, but were soon brought to obedience by the valiant army of Ghazní, and Amá-Kalikha, chief of Tibristán, acknowledged submission by agreeing to read the Khutba in the name of Amir Mas'úd, and sent his son Bahman and his nephew Sharvín, son of Surkháb, to Karúkán Amir Mas'úd now arrived at Naushápur on his way to Ghazní, the natives of which place complained to him of the grievous oppression they had suffered at the hands of the Turkománs

\* \* \* \* \*

In A H 426, Amir Mas'úd had no sooner reached Ghazni, than he was informed that Ahmed, son of Binaltigin had rebelled, he therefore sent Bátha, son of Muhammed Lall, an officer of the Hindú troops, against him, and upon the meeting of the contending parties, a battle ensued, in which Batha fell, and his forces were dispersed, Amir Mas'úd, upon hearing this, sent Tilak, son of Jaisen, Commander-in-chief of the Hindús, against him He defeated Ahmed, and cut off the noses and ears of all those who fell into his hands Ahmed fled to Mansúra in Sind, and, while crossing the river, was drowned in the foaming stream When the current carried his body to the bank, his head was cut off, and taken to Tilak, who sent it to Amir Mas'úd at Ghazní

In 427 H the new palace was completed, and in it a throne was placed, over which a crown, set with precious stones, and weighing seventy mands, was suspended by golden chains When the king sat on the throne, he put the suspended crown over his head, and held a public Darbár In this same year, he granted a Drum and Banner to Mandud, sent him to Balkh, and himself marched at the head of his army towards Hindustan On his arrival at Hansi, he captured that fort, and obtained con-

siderable booty He afterwards went to Sínpat, upon which Dipál Harnam, the commander of that fort, fled away to the woods, and concealed himself The Muhammedans took that fort, razed the Hindú temples to the ground, and carried away much spoil They next pursued Dipál, who deserted his own army, and all his troops were either killed or taken prisoners Amír Mas'úd now marched towards the pass which led to the territory of Ram, who hearing of the Amír's approach, sent a large tribute for his acceptance, saying that he was too old and weak, and could not consequently attend the Amír in person The Amír accepted his excuse, and did not molest him He then bestowed a Drum and Banner upon Amír Abú-l-Muhammed, son of Mas'úd, sent him to Lahore, and he himself returned to Ghazní

On the 22nd of Shawwál, 650 A. H. Násiru-d-Dín Mahmúd went to Uch and Multán, by way of Lahore In this expedition, Katlak Khán and Kushlú Khán, the former from Sahaswán, and the latter from Badaún, accompanied the Sultán with their respective armies as far as the Biáh

In 651 A. H. the Sultán permitted Alaf Khán to proceed to his Jaghir at Sawálik and Hánsi, and conferred the post of vizarat on Muhammed Juneidi, with the title of Ann-l-Mulk He appointed Malík Azzu-d-dín Kashlu Khán, chief Chamberlain, and bestowed the country of Karrah on Eibek, brother of A'zam Khán He appointed Imámu-d-dín Khan his lieutenant, and afterwards returned to Dehli In the beginning of Shawwál of this year he marched towards the Biáh, sent his troops to Tiberhinda, Uch, and Multán, which places had been deserted by Shere Khán, who had been defeated by the Sindians, and had fled to Turkistán The Sultán having obtained possession of these places, entrusted them to Arslán Khán, and then returned to his capital.

Ibráhím, the son of Mas'úd, was a just and pious king, celebrated for the excellence of his judgment, and the correctness of his principles He wrote an excellent hand, and every year sent to Mecca a copy of the Korán written with his own hand, accompanied with costly presents When, through the peace which was established with the Saljúkís, his mind had been set at rest, he turned his face towards Hindústán, and conquered many towns and forts, and amongst them was a city exceedingly populous, inhabited by a tribe of Khorásámí descent, whom Afrasiab had expelled from their native country. In that city there was a lake, of which the diameter was half a parasang, which never diminished in size, though men and beasts were always consuming it In consequence of the extensive jungle which surrounded that fort, there was no access to it—but so completely was it

\* This is the only passage in which Nizamu-d-dín calls it a fort

reduced by the power and perseverance of the Sultán, that he took away no less than 100,000 captives, from which circumstance the value of the other booty may be conceived \*

He died in the year 481 H and reigned thirty years, though Binákati assigns to him forty-two years †

\* \* \* \* \*

Sultán Aláu d-Din acting with the co-operation of his advisers, resumed every village which was held in Wakf, in In'am, or in Milk, and resorted to every kind of subterfuge to possess himself of all the money which his subjects had acquired, and to throw it into the Royal Treasury. The people were consequently reduced to the greatest distress, and were in want even of daily sustenance. They were unable to utter even the names of opposition and rebellion, for spies were in every district, every street, and every house, and to such an extent was this system of espionage carried, that even the chiefs and nobles were unable to meet and converse with one another, for fear of having their words misrepresented.

\* \* \* \* \*

Sultán Muhammed again resorted to Sargdwari, ‡ and tried to populate the country, and increase the cultivation. He established several new rules of administration, to which he gave the name of Usûb, and appointed an officer to superintend their execution, who had the title of Dewau Amargoi, but not one of these could ever be carried into effect.

One of his schemes was to measure off a space of thirty coss square, and direct that, whether at that time under cultivation, or not, nothing but first-class crops should be grown within it, and one hundred revenue collectors were directed to mature the project. Some, naked and destitute, and others actuated by the spirit of avarice, undertook to cultivate upon this principle, on the promise of receiving advances in seed and money from the Royal Treasury, all of which was expended to satisfy the necessities of the day, while the recipients calmly awaited the punishment which they knew must befall them.

Within two years, seventy odd lack of Tankas were advanced from the Treasury. Had the Sultán ever returned alive from his last expedition, he would infallibly have slain every factor and cultivator employed in this business.

\* See note F

† So does the Tarikh-i-Guzida. The Rauzatu-s-Safi gives thirty-one years, Ferishta leaves it doubtful. This uncertainty shows how defective the annals of this period are, which is deeply to be regretted, as Ibrahim and his successor are said to have extended the Muhammedan conquests in India further than any of their predecessors.

‡ This place is near Rampul and Patiali, on the right bank of the Ganges. It was here this madman made two or three abortive attempts to establish something like a new Capital.

Another new scheme of his at Sargdwari was the peremptory dismissal of all the provincial governors and accountants.

The last ridiculous project of Muhammed Tughlak Sháh was to add to his kingdom the mountains which intervene between Hind and Chin, for which purpose he sent thither large armies accompanied by his chief nobles and most experienced commanders, with orders to use their utmost endeavours to conquer every part of the hills. When the armies had advanced well into the heart of the mountains, the Hindús of those parts closed up the roads with rocks, and put almost all their invaders to the sword. The few who survived were summarily punished by Sultán Muhammed

In 794 A. H., Narsing, Sar, Dádharan, and Bírbbán, Zemindars in the Dúáb, rose in rebellion against the Sultán, who despatched Islám Khán to quell it. Narsing in a contest with Islám Khán was defeated, and many of the infidels were killed. The victorious army then pursued Narsing, till he begged for mercy, and was carried as a prisoner by Islám Khán to Dehli.

In the meantime, intelligence being received that Sar and Dádharan had plundered Kasbah Tálgrám, the Sultán went there in person, and when they heard that the king had approached the Black river (Kálmaddi) they took shelter in the fort of Etawah.

On his arrival at Etawah, the infidels, having committed their families and effects to the flames, deserted the fort during that night and escaped. Next day, the king ordered the fort to be demolished, and directed his course towards Canauj, and after punishing the infidels of that place, as well as the Ráis of Dalmá, he went to Jalesar, where he built a fortress and gave it the name of Muhammedábád.

In the month of Rajab of the same year, Khwájah Jahán, his vicegerent at the capital, wrote to him to say that Islám Khán was preparing to enter the Panjáb with the design of creating disturbances, the Sultán therefore returned to the capital with his army, and ordered Islám Khán to be brought into his presence to answer the charge laid against him. Islám Khán denied the charge, but his nephew, a Hindú named Jájú, being at enmity with him, gave a false deposition, whereupon the Sultan ordered Islám Khán to be punished, and conferred upon Khán Jahán the office of Wazir. The king also despatched Malik Mukarrabu-l-Mulk with an army to Muhammedábád.

In 795 A. H. being informed that Sar, Dádharan, Jit Sing Rathore, and Bírbbán, Mukaddam of Bhúngánw, had risen in rebellion, the Sultan deputed Mukarrabu-l-Mulk to repress it. After terms of peace had been agreed upon by the contending parties, Mukarrabu-l-Mulk took the Ráis along with him to Canauj and treacherously murdered them. Rai Sar

escaped and fled to Etáwah, and Malík Mukarrabí-l-Mulk proceeded to Muhammedábád

In the month of Shawwál, the Sultán proceeded to Mewát, and plundered it, and then returned to Muhammedábád Jalesar, where he fell sick. In the meanwhile, hearing that Bahádar Náhir had plundered some of the villages in the neighbourhood of Delhi, the Sultán directed his course to Mewát, notwithstanding the infirm state of his health

On his arrival at Kotilah, Bahádar Náhir came out to oppose him, but, being defeated, sought shelter within the fort. As he had there no hope of safety, he escaped to Jhirrí. The Sultán then returned to Muhammedábád in order to superintend the building of a palace which he had ordered to be erected, and at this place his sickness increased

In the month of Rabíu-l-Awwal, he ordered prince Humayún to march against Sarsutí Kokhar, who had revolted and taken possession of the fort of Lahore. The Prince was about to set out for Lahore, when he was informed of the Sultán's demise, which occurred on the 17th of Rabíu l-Awwal. He therefore gave up his intention, and remained in the city

Sultán Muhammed Sháh reigned six years and seven months

\* \* \* \* \*

### *The reign of Khizr Khán \**

It is related that Malík Mardán Daulat, one of the Amírs of Sultán Firoz Sháh, had adopted Malík Sulaimán, the father of Khizr Khán when he was an infant, and that one day, in giving an entertainment to Amír Sayyid Jalál Bukhári (may God sanctify his tomb!) Malík Mardán Daulat ordered Malík Sulaimán to wash the hands of the assembly, and when he readily got up to perform that office, Sayyid Jalál told Malík Mardán Daulat that the young man was descended from a Sayyid, and that therefore it would be unbecoming that he should be ordered to perform so menial a service

Khizr Khán was a virtuous man, of excellent character, and of unimpeachable veracity. The greatness of his character was a sufficient proof of his noble origin, "Although good actions may be occasionally performed, yet the habitual exercise of virtue depends upon noble origin"

In the time of Sultán Firoz Sháh, Multán was under the government of Malík Mardán Daulat, and after his death Malík Sheikh succeeded to it, but shortly after died. After this, the government of that country was bestowed by Sultan Firoz Sháh upon Khizr Khan, and from that time Khizr Khan was considered one of the most eminent dignitaries of the state, and, as

\* This and the preceding Extract give us a good idea of the dissension and anarchy which prevailed, in the neighbourhood of the Capital, about the period of Tímúr's invasion

already related, had fought many severe battles, in all of which victory was on his side, before he took Dehli on the 15th of Rabíu-l-Awwal 817 A. H.

Notwithstanding his possessing the substantial power and authority of a king, he never assumed the title, but called himself Amír Alá. He allowed the coin to be stamped, and the Khutba to be read, in the name of Amír Timúr, and subsequently in that of Mirzá Sháh Rukh, but at last the people used to read the Khutba in Khizr Khán's name and to include him also in their blessings. He appointed Malik Táju to the office of Wázir, and bestowed on him the title of Táju-l-Mulk, Sayíd Sálim was appointed to Sabáranpúr, and the provinces of Multán and Fatehpúr were bestowed on Abdu-r-Ráhím, the adopted son of Malik Sulaimán, who was also honored with the title of Akáu-l-Mulk. Malik Sarwar was nominated to the office of governor of the city, Malik Khairu-d-Dín Khán to the office of Arízí Mamálik, Malik Kallú to the charge of the elephants, Malik Dáuid, was appointed Chief Secretary, Ikhtíár Khán was sent to administer the affairs of the Dúáb. He also allowed the slaves and dependants of Sul-tán Mahmúd Sháh to continue to draw their pensions and other allowances, and permitted them to reside at their respective Jágírs.

In this same year he sent Táju-l-Mulk with a strong force to Badáún and Katehar,\* in order to put down the turbulent spirits of those provinces. Táju l-Mulk, crossing the rivers Jumna and Ganges, arrived in Katehar, and punished the Zemíndárs of that country. Rái Narsing fled to the jungles of Aunlah, but being at last reduced to extremities, he agreed to pay the revenue demanded from him.

Mahábat Khán, Governor of Badáún, also offered his submission, and after this, Táju-d-Dín, marching from Badáún along the banks of the Rahab, arrived at the ford of Sargdwarí, and crossing the Ganges there, reached Khor, now called Shamsá-bád, and punished the unfidels of that place, as well as of Kam-pilah, and then, passing through Sakít, reached Kasbah Pádham, where Hasan Khán, governor of Ráprí and Hamzah, his brother, came to visit him; Rái Sar also came to profess his obedience, and the Rájás of Gwáhlár, Raprí† and Chandwár also offered to pay

\* Two copies have Kaithal, but Katehar is meant,—the Hindú name of the present province of Rohilkhand. At first, the Muhammedan conquerors called all the country to the east of the Ganges, Katehar, but subsequently, when Sambhal and Badáún were made separate governments, the country beyond the Rámangá only was called by that name.

† It appears therefore that there was a Rájá, as well as a Governor, of Ráprí, unless we choose to read Siprí, which no copy authorizes. Ráprí, or Raprí, and Chandwár are on the Jumna, a few miles below Agra, in a country full of ravines, and well capable of being defended by a few men against thousands.

the revenue demanded from them. He took the Kasbah of Jalesar from the Rájputs of Chandwár, and intrusting it to the former Musulmán chiefs of that Kasbah, appointed Shukdárs. Thence he proceeded to Gwáhiár, and after plundering and desolating it, took the annual tribute from the Rái of that place, and then went to Chaudwár, and after exacting revenue from Bansing, Zemíndár of Chandwár, and the Zemíndárs of Kampil and Patriáli, he returned to Delhi, crossing the Jumna near Chaudwár.

In Jamádu-l-awwal it was reported that some Turkománs of the tribe of Bairam Khán Turkíja had treacherously put to death Malík Sadhú Nálnr, appointed by prince Mubárák Kháu to the government of Sirhind, and had also taken possession of the fort of Sirhind. Upon this, Khizr Khán directed Zírak Khán to proceed against them with a large army. The Turks fled to the mountains, retreating across the river Satlej. Zírak Khán pursued them, but being unable to do any thing effective, he returned after two months. In the month of Rajab of the same year, hearing that Sultán Ahmed of Gujrát had besieged the fort of Nagore, Khizr Khán, for the purpose of settling this matter, marched in that direction by way of Túdah, and Sultán Ahmed having returned to his country without venturing an action, Khizr Khán directed his course to the city of Nau Urús\* Jhayn, one of the towns built by Sultán Aláu-d-dín Khiljí. Ihlás, the Governor, came to pay his respects, and Khizr Khan, after punishing the insurgents of that district, directed his course to Gwáhiár, but as it was difficult to take the fort, he contented himself with receiving the fixed revenue from the Rái of Gwáhiár, and repaired to Biána, and having levied tribute from Shams Khán Újadi, the ruler of that place, returned to Delhi.

In the year 820 H intelligence was received of the rebellious proceedings of Tughán, with whom some of the Turks who had killed Malík Sadhú, were implicated. Zírak Khan, the ruler of Sámána, was sent to overawe them. Upon his approach to Sámána the rebels left the fort of Sirhind, and retired towards the mountains. Malík Kamál Badlian, who was imprisoned in the fort, being thus set at liberty, came to pay his respects.

Zírak Khan pursued the enemy to Babal, and Tughan, the chief of the Turks, came forward to offer his submission, agreed to pay tribute, and delivered up his son as a hostage to maintain peace, and as he expelled from his presence the Turks who had assassinated Malík Sadhu, Zírak Khan returned towards Samána, and sent the son and property of Tughan to Khizr Khan.

In the year 821, Khizr Khan sent Tajul-Mulk against Narsing, the Raja of Katchur, and when his army crossed the Ganges, Narsing abandoned the open country, and took shelter in the jungles of Aunlah, but Tajul-Mulk having discovered his retreat after

\* Literally, *the young bride*. This was a title occasionally bestowed about this time upon a fort which had never been captured.



a little search, defeated him, and took possession of his horses, magazine, and all his property, and the troops of Táju l-Mulk, having pursued Narsing to the Kamáún hills, obtained large booty, and returned to their camp after five days. After this, Táju l-Mulk marched towards the banks of the Ganges, by way of Badáún, and having crossed it at Pachlána, despatched Mahábat Khán, ruler of Badáún, to take charge of his own government. He then proceeded to Etáwah, where Rái Sar had fortified himself, and after ravaging the country, accepted the terms solicited by the Rái, and returned to the city in the month of Rabíu l-ákhír. In the very same year, Khizr Khán set out with the design of punishing his rebellious subjects in Katehar. He first made an example of the insurgents of Col, and crossing the Rahab,\* ravaged the district of Sambhal.

In the month of Zí-l-k'adah of the same year, he went to Badáún, crossing the Ganges near Patiáli, whereupon Mahábat Khán being under apprehension for his own safety, fled to Badáún. In Zí-l-hijjah of the same year, Mahábat Khán fortified himself within Badáún, where he was engaged for six months in perpetual struggles to maintain himself against his opponent.

Meanwhile, having ascertained that certain Umrás, such as Kawám Khán and Ikhtiyár Khán, and all the slaves of Mahmúd Sháh, who had deserted Daulat Khán and joined his standard, were engaged in a conspiracy against him, Khizr Khán thought proper to raise the siege, and retire towards Dehl. And on the 20th Jamádu-l awwal, while encamped on the bank of the Ganges, he put the whole of the conspirators to death, and then proceeded on his route to Dehl.

After a few days, news arrived that an impostor, assuming the name of Sárang Khán, had collected a force in the hills of Bajwára. Malik Sultán Shah Bairám Lodí was sent against him, and appointed Governor of Sirhind, where he arrived in the month of Rajab. Sárang left the hills, and on reaching the Sutlej, was joined by the men of Rúpar, but coming to action near Sirhind, he was defeated, and fled to Lahúrí, one of the dependencies of Sirhind. Khwájah Alí Indráni, Zírák Khán, Governor of Sámána, and Túghán Turkíja, Governor of Jálandhar, went to the assistance of Sultán Shah at Sirhind. Sárang fled to Rúpar, and when pursued by the Shah's army, retired again to the hills. The army encamped at Rúpar, and Malik Khairu d-Dín having been directed to join the army with his own troops, arrived at Rúpar during Ramzán of this year, and remained for some time encamped at the foot of the hills. When the forces of Sá-

\* Throughout the Tabakat-i-Akberí the Rahab is evidently the Sote, or Yar-wafádkár, of the present day. The origin of the latter name will be found in the extract from the Tawárikh-i-Muhammed-Shahi, given at p 304 of the *Supplemental Glossary*, published at Agra in 1845. Respecting the Rahab, *supra*, p 32.

rang were entirely dispersed, and many had fled for safety to the hills in disguise, the main body of the army went into quarters. Malik Khairu d-Din returned to the capital, Zirak Khán to Sámána, and Sultan Shah remained encamped at Rúpar. Shortly after, Sarang, escaping from the hills, joined Túghán in the Muharram of the year 833, and was treacherously murdered by him.

During this period, Khizr Khán, passing his time luxuriously in his Palace, appointed Tajú-l-Mulk to suppress a rebellion of the Zemíndárs of Etawah. Tajú-l-mulk passing through Baran (Bulandshahar) arrived at Kol, where he punished the refractory, and then went to Deoli Jákhán, which is a strong place, and after plundering it, arrived at Etawah. Ráu Sar retired within the fort of Etawah, and after entering into terms, agreed to pay the revenue assessed upon him. Tajú-l-Mulk returning by Chandwar, which he ravaged, went towards Katehar, and after taking tribute from Rái Narsing, returned to the city.

In the month of Rajab of the same year, news arrived that Túghán Turkija had again rebelled, and invested the fort of Sirhind, and ravaged the districts of Mansúrpúr and Pábal. Khizr Khán directed Khairu-d-Dín to proceed against him, who, when he arrived at Sámána, was joined by Zirak Khán, when they pursued Túghán with their combined forces. Túghán, after passing the Sutlej near Lúdhána, sought asylum with Jasrat Khokhar, and his Jágirs were bestowed upon Zirak Khán. Malik Khairu-d-Dín returned to Delhi.

In the year 824, Khizr Khán marched towards Mewát, for the purpose of punishing the disaffected inhabitants of that tract, who had fortified themselves in the stronghold of Kotilah, belonging to Bahádar Nahir. Upon the very first assault they evacuated the fort, when it was taken possession of by Khizr Khán. The Mewátis fled to the hills, and Khizr Khán, after plundering and dismantling the fort, went towards Gwahar. On the 8th of Muharram, Tajú-l-Mulk died, and his eldest son, Sikander, succeeded to the Wizárat, under the title of Mahkú-s-Shark. After taking tribute from the Rajá of Gwáhar, whose country was laid waste, Khizr Khán went to Etawah. Rái Sar had, in the meantime, died, and his son, professing obedience, declared himself ready to pay the stipulated revenue.

At this time, Khizr Khán fell ill, and returned to Delhi, and departed to the mercy of God on the 7th of Jamádu-l-awwal, A. H. 824. His reign lasted seven years, two months, and two days.

\* \* \* \* \*

Dariya Khan, the son of Mubárik Khan, Lohani, obtained the government of Behar. At this time the scarcity of grain became so great, that in order to afford relief to the people the corn tax was remitted, and orders to this effect were despatched to all parts of the kingdom, and the abolition has continued from that

day to this. At this time the Sultán (Sikander) came to Sáran, and transferred some of the Pergunahs which were in its neighbourhood, and in possession of the Zemíndárs, in Jágur to his own adherents. Thence he proceeded by way of Machligarh to Jaunpúr, where he sojourned six months, and then went to Patna.\*

It is said that the Sultán demanded of Sálbáhan, the Rái of Patna, his daughter in marriage, and upon his refusal, set out to chastise his impertinence, in the year 904. When he reached Patna, he laid waste the whole country, and did not leave the sign of a dwelling standing. But when he arrived before Bandúgarh, which is the strongest fort in the country, and the residence of a Governor, the garrison exhibited such gallantry and determination, that he was compelled to return to Jaunpúr without accomplishing his purpose.

\* \* \* \* \*

On the 28th of Zi-l-hijjah A H 1000, His Majesty, Akber, owing to the weakness of Prince Khusrú, directed Prince Dánial to remain in charge of the standing camp, while he himself advanced rapidly towards Cashmír, taking the compiler of this work Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed, in company with him, and directing the Prince to move on by easy marches with the ladies of the family, and take up his quarters at Rohtás. He reached Cashmír on the 8th of Maharram, 1001, and spent there 28 days in amusing himself with hunting excursions. He again entrusted the government of Cashmír to Mirzá Yúsuf, and leaving there a party composed of Khwájah Ashraf, Mír Mnrád Dakhní, together with the son of Fateh Khán and the son of Sheikh Ibráhim, he embarked on the 8th of Safar for Bárah Múlah, which lies on the confines of Cashmír and on the road leading to Pukhlí. In his way he visited the remarkable lake which is surrounded by mountains on the Northern, Southern, and Western sides, and extends 60 miles in circumference. From this lake flows a river, the water of which is remarkably clear. Sultán Zannu-l-Ábidín had filled up the middle part of this lake with stones to the height of one jaríb above the level of the water and raised a magnificent structure upon it. Indeed, no lake in Hindústán has been found to equal this. After visiting this, the king went to Barah Múlah, and thence proceeded by land towards Pukhlí, on his arrival at which place there fell a shower of rain and hail. The king next proceeded by forced marches to Rohtás, ordering the compiler, Khwájah Názir Daulat, and Khwájakí Fateh-ullah, to follow with the females and household establishment. A strange coincidence occurred upon this expedition. When the king returned from Cashmír, he remarked that it was about forty years since he

\* There is some reason to suppose Panna in Bundelkhand is meant, but all copies concur in reading Patna.

had seen snow, and as most of the men in his train, who were brought up in Hind, had likewise never seen any, he declared that it would be an exhibition of God's mercy, if it should so happen that snow should fall, after he had passed through the narrow defiles in the neighbourhood of Pukhlí, to satisfy their curiosity, and it turned out according to his desires.

On the appearance of the new moon of Rabi'u-l-awwal, he arrived at the fort of Rohtás, and on the 15th of the same month, he marched towards the capital, Lahore, where he arrived on the 6th of Rabi'u-s-sání of the same year, after a journey of 20 days, amusing himself occasionally with hunting on the road. In the meantime, intelligence was brought that a battle had taken place between Mánsing and the son and brothers of Katlí Afghán, upon whose death the province of Orissa had come into their possession, and that the Royal party having been victorious, the extensive province of Orissa, which lies on the confines of Bengal, had been absorbed into his Majesty's possessions.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Husain Khan Tuhriya* — He was called *Tuhriya*, from the fact of his having issued an order, when he was Governor of Lahore, to the effect that Hindús should bear on their shoulders a discriminating mark, which being called in Hindí, *Tuhri*, obtained for him the nickname of *Tuhriya*. He was nephew and son-in-law of Imám Mehdí Kásim Khán, and was a mansabdár of 2000. He died A. H. 983.\*

*Amír Fateh-ullah Shirázi* — In the year 990 H corresponding with the 26th Ilahi, the Amír arrived at Court from the Deccan, and was received with royal favour. He was directed, in conjunction with the ministers, to examine the returns of the collectors, and to revise the system of accounts. On this duty he was engaged for many years, and, in token of the king's satisfaction, was honoured with the title of Uzdu-l-daulah. He was a very learned man, and was better versed in every kind of knowledge, practical and theoretical, than any man in Khorásan, Irak, or Hindústán. In short, in the whole world he was without a rival. He was also an adept in the secret arts of magic and enchantment. For instance, he placed a mill-stone on a carriage, which produced flour by a self-generated movement, and he manufac-

\* Some of the proceedings of this enthusiast will be noticed in a succeeding article. The *Mááiru-l-Umrá* tells us that this order was issued in consequence of his having once saluted a Hindu, who passed by with a long beard the distinctive mark of a Musulman. We do not learn whether this edict was approved or annulled. In the decline of the republic when a similar measure was proposed at Rome with respect to the slaves, a wise man exclaimed, 'quantum periculum immineret, si servi nostri numerare nos cœpissent.' Seneca *De Clementia*, I. 24.

tured a gun, which fired twelve balls at a time In Cashmír, he departed for the land of eternity in the year 997 H \*

\* \* \* \* \*

A few days after, Sultán Mahmúd assembled an army, and marched on Shor,† when Jám Báyezíd and Alam Khán, with their followers, advanced to the distance of twenty miles from Shor to oppose him Their troops were drawn up facing the Rávi, and a letter was despatched to Daulat Khán Lodí, acquainting him with the particulars of their movement Upon receipt of this intelligence, Daulat Khán Lodí, at the head of the Panjáb forces, came to their assistance before the conflict was at an end, and dispatched a confidential person to Sultán Mahmúd to enter into a negotiation for peace, and it was at last through his mediation that the king took his departure for Multán, and that Jám Báyezíd returned to Shor, after which, he himself proceeded to Lahore

Notwithstanding that the terms of peace had been adjusted by so wise a man as Daulat Khán, yet it did not endure long

In the interim, Mír Jákár Zand,‡ with his two sons, named Mír Ilahdád and Sháhdád, came to Multán from Maví It was Mír Sháhdád that introduced the principles of the Shía creed into Multán.

As the Langáh family had great respect for Malík Sohráb Dúdará, Mír Jákár Zand could not acquire any influence in Multán. He therefore sought the protection of Jám Báyezíd, who treated him with respect, and was pleased to grant a portion of his private domain for the support of the Mír's family.

Jám Bayezid was a man of obliging character and of generous spirit, and was particularly anxious to promote the interests of the learned and virtuous He is said to have sent money and other necessary provisions to Multán from Shor, for their especial use, even during the period of actual hostilities His generosity towards men of talent was so notorious, that many persons of distinction quitted their homes, took up their abode at Shor, and encouraged many others to resort to that place

\* These are among the biographies of contemporary nobles, philosophers, and poets, which are inserted at the close of the reign of Akber

† Shor, or Shorkote, is twenty-six miles north of Tulamba, and on the road from that place to Jhang Among the extensive ruins of this place, the most remarkable is a mound of earth, surrounded by a brick wall, and high enough to be seen from a circuit of six or eight miles Native tradition represents it to be the capital of a Rajá of the name of Shor, who was conquered by a king from the West — Burnes' *Bokhara*, Vol III p 131

‡ This agrees with the name as given by Briggs, but in the original of Ferishta it is Mír Imad Gurdezi In many other respects there is a great difference between the original and translation, and it is evident that the translator must have used a different Manuscript in this portion of his work

Amongst other persons, Mauláná Azíz-ullah, pupil of Mauláná Fateh-ullah, was invited by Jám Báyezíd with many entreaties

On his approach to Shor, Jám Báyezíd received him with much honor, conducted him to his private apartments, and ordered his servants to pour water over the Mauláná's hands and then by way of a blessing to sprinkle the same water on the four corners of his house

There is a curious anecdote concerning the Mauláná and Sheikh Jalálu-d dín Kureishi, Vakíl of Jám Báyezíd which, though not much to the purpose of this history, is yet here recorded for an example, and as an awakening from the sleep of neglect It is this—When the Jám received the Maulána with unusual distinction, the Sheikh went to the Maulána and told him, that Jám Báyezíd had given him his compliments, and desired that the Mauláná should select for himself one of the slave girls who had been ordered to attend him The Mauláná sent one of his own servants to Jám Báyezíd and said in reply, "God forbid that a man should ever look upon the women of his friend, moreover such sentiments are unworthy of my advanced age" Jám Báyezíd replied that he had no knowledge of the imputed message The Maulána being much embarrassed at this, cursed the person that communicated the message to him, saying, "May his neck be broken!" and returned to his home without even seeing Jám Báyezíd, who was not informed of his departure, until he had actually left his dominions

It so happened that the curse of the Mauláná took effect, for after Sheikh Jalálu-d-dín came to Shor, having deserted the service of Sultán Sikander, he chanced one night to miss his footing, when he fell from an upper story with his head downwards, and literally broke his neck

After the conquest of the Panjáb in 930 H by Firdús Makání Zahíru-d-dín Muhammed Baber Badsháh Gházi, that monarch at the time of his return to Dehh, sent a commission to Mirzá Sháh Husain Arghún, Governor of Thatta, ordering him to take charge of Multán and its neighbouring districts He accordingly crossed the river at Bhakkar, and marched towards Multan with a large army

Sultán Mahmúd now collected all his forces, advanced to the distance of two days journey from the city of Multan, and sent Sheikh Baháu-d-dín Kureishi, successor to the celebrated Sheikh Baháu d-dín Zakariyá (may God sanctify his sepulchre) as an ambassador to Mirza Sháh Husain, and appointed Maulána Behlol, who was noted for the fluency of his eloquence, as well as the purity of his language, to accompany the Sheikh

The Mirzá received them with much honor, and said that he had come with the view of chastising Sultán Mahmud, and of visiting Sheikh Baháu-d dín Zakariyá's tomb

The Maulána stated that it would suffice if Sultan Mahmúd

were to effect his communications at a distance, in the same manner as the Prophet had guided Wais Karní while they were absent from each other, and that Sheikh Beháu-d-dín was already come to his presence, inasmuch as he himself was the representative of Zakariyá, and that there was therefore no need of his troubling himself to proceed any further

They were, however, unsuccessful in accomplishing the objects of their interview, and returned to the Sultán, who died suddenly in the same night, poisoned, it is said, by Lashkar Khán, one of his slaves. He died A. H. 931, after a reign of 27 years

### *Respecting Sultán Husain, son of Sultán Mahmúd*

After the death of Sultán Mahmúd, Kawám Khán Langáh and Langar Khán, who were the commanders of Sultán Mahmúd's army, deserted their king, and joined Mírzá Sháh Husain Arghún, and having met with a kind reception from him, they subsequently took possession of the different towns of Multán in the name of the Mírzá, while the remaining Langáh Chiefs, confounded at this intelligence, hastened to Multán, and proclaimed the son of Sultán Mahmúd as king, under the title of Sultán Sháh Husain, and read the Khutbah in his name—though he was but a child. But he was king only in name, for Sheikh Shujá'u-l-Mulk Bukhári, son-in-law of Sultán Mahmúd, assuming the office of Vazír, secured to himself all the regal power.

By the advice of this inexperienced man, the adherents of the Langáh family took refuge in the fort, which had scarcely one day's provision in it, while Mírzá Sháh Husain, deeming the death of Sultán Mahmúd a most convenient opportunity for the conquest of the country, immediately laid siege to the fort.

After a few days, the garrison finding the provisions of the fort were consumed, and that they were about to perish, came to Sheikh Shujá'u-l-Mulk, who was the cause of his country's disasters, and solicited his permission to give the enemy battle, representing at the same time that they had still some vigour left, that their horses were fresh, and that it was not improbable that the gale of victory might incline to their side, and that to remain inactive and beleaguered as they were, was expedient only when there was any hope of receiving succour from without,—which was not at all a probable contingency in their case.

The Sheikh did not make any reply, but retiring to a private apartment, he invited the attendance of some of the Chiefs, and said that as the sovereignty of Sháh Husain Langáh had not as yet been well established, he was afraid, lest most of their men on making a sally from the fort, should take the opportunity to desert, and join Mírzá Sháh Husain, in hope of receiving some

reward for their treachery, and that the small remnant who had any regard for their reputation might fall into the hands of the enemy.

Maulána Sa'dullah of Lahore, a learned man of that time, who was confined in the fort of Multan on this occasion, relates that a few months after the siege had commenced, when all the avenues of the fort were closed by the enemy, and no one was able to enter for the purpose of rendering assistance, or go out for the purpose of escaping his doom, (for the attempt was attended with certain destruction,) the garrison were at last reduced to such extremities, as to be compelled to consume dogs and cats, which were partaken of with as much avidity as if they had been the choicest goats and lambs.

The protection of the fort was committed by Sheikh Shujá'u-l-Mulk to the charge of a vagabond, named Jádú, who had three thousand militia of the country under him. That wretch entered all the houses wherever he had the least expectation of finding grain, and plundered them so unscrupulously, that the people earnestly desired Sheikh Shujá'u-l-Mulk's destruction.

At last, the besieged were reduced to so desperate a condition, that they preferred being killed by the Mirza to a slow death by famine, and they accordingly threw themselves down from the walls of the fort, but Mirza Sháh Husain, being aware of their distress, allowed them a free passage.

After a siege of one year and several months, his men, one night, entered the fort, and put the besieged to the sword, sparing no one between the age of seven and seventy. They next treated most oppressively all the citizens on whom there was the least suspicion of possessing wealth, and treated them with various kinds of indignity. This took place at the close of A. H. 932.

Maulána Sa'dullah gives an account of those transactions in the following words:

"When the fort was captured by the Arghúns, a party of them entered my house, seized on my father, Maulana Ibráhím Jama, who, in studying and teaching the whole circle of sciences for 65 years, had lost the use of his sight, and treated him with the grossest insult. Another person came and bound me, and sent me as a present to the Vazir of the Mirza.

The Vazir was sitting on a wooden platform in the open area, when I reached his house, and he ordered me to be bound with a chain, of which one end was tied to one of the feet of the platform. I did not, however, grieve for myself, but I could not help shedding tears, when I recollected my father's sad condition.

After a while, he called for his escrutoire, mended his pen, and then rose up with the intention of washing his hands and feet and praying, before he sat down to write. There was no one left within the house but myself, so I approached the platform, and



wrote, on the very paper on which the Vazír had intended to write, the following verse of the work *Bardah*—"Do not your eyes see how I am weeping, and do you never say, 'Weep no more,' and does your heart never suggest to you that you should have pity upon me?" After which, I immediately resumed my place, and began to weep. After his return, when he was just beginning to write, he saw the lines and began to look round to see who might have written them, but finding that there was no body except myself, he wished me to declare if I had written it, and on my confessing to have done so, he enquired more about my affairs, and on hearing my father's name, he immediately got up, released me from my fetters, and having clothed me with a garment of his own, proceeded immediately to the *Díwán Khána* of the *Mírzá*, and introduced me to him. The *Mírzá* sent some one to search after my father, and to bring him to the presence.

The people around the *Mírzá* were talking upon religious subjects, when my father was admitted to that assembly, and the *Mírzá* after bestowing *Khilats*, the one on my father, the other on myself, encouraged my father to relate to him the circumstances of his life, and he accordingly related them, notwithstanding the agitation of his mind. He recounted them with so much pathos and eloquence, that the auditors were charmed with him, and the *Mírzá* requested the pleasure of his company, on his return to his own country.

The *Mírzá* ordered all of my father's plundered property to be restored, and that a compensation in money should be given for that which could not be recovered, but my father begged to be excused from accompanying him, saying that he was too old to undertake such a journey, when the time of his preparing for his last pilgrimage was so near, and accordingly he did die only two months after this occurrence."

In short, when the fort was captured, the *Mírzá* committed *Sultán Husan* to the custody of an officer, and treated *Sheikh Shujá'u-l-Mulk Bukhári* with various indignities, and a large sum of money was daily exacted from him. The country of *Mul-tán* had by this time been much devastated, so that there was no hope of its attaining its former degree of prosperity, but the *Mírzá*, nevertheless, not thinking its restoration so very difficult, left the country in charge of *Khwájah Shamsu-d-dín*, with *Langar Khán* to assist him, and he himself returned to *Thatta*. Under the judicious management of *Langar Khán*, the country was again populated, and he subsequently turned out the *Khwájah*, with the assistance of the people, and made himself master of the country.

After the death of *Báber*, *Humayún* succeeded to the throne of *Hindústán*, and bestowed the *Panjáb* in *Jágir* upon *Mírzá Kámrán*, who sent a message to *Langar Khán* requesting his attendance,

and on the Khán's waiting upon him at Lahore, he was pleased to confer on him the country of Pábal in exchange for Multan

Towards the close of the Khán's life, the king assigned as his residence a place at Lahore, now known by the name of Dáira Langar Khán, which is one of the most celebrated quarters of Lahore. From this time forward Multán again came under the dominion of the kings of Dehli

After the death of Mirzá Kámrán, it passed to Shír Khan, from Shír Khán to Selím Khán, and from him to the officers of His Majesty Akber, all which changes have been mentioned in their respective places

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The Tabakát-i-Akberí is one of the commonest histories procurable in India, but I have met with no remarkably good copy. In the Bodleian Library it is the only work on Indian History noticed by Uri, except an imperfect one on the reigns of Humayún, Akber, and Jehángír \*

The Tabakát-i-Akberí commences with —

سپاس رفعت آسائش بادشاه حقیقی را سرد که حل و عقد نظام  
عالم وسط و ربط بنی آدم در وجود عالی و رود مرمان روایان  
معدلت پیسه و مملکت پیرایان نصعت اندیشه و دیعت بهاد

and ends with a promise, which does not appear to have been fulfilled. As several copies, procured from distant places, concur in this reading, and as the author continued almost till the day of his death the history of Akber's reign, it seems probable that he never wrote the Conclusion which he promised in his Pre-

\* Uri, Bibl Bodl Codd MSS Orient Catal — Codd MSS Pers  
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face, and which now is comprised in ten lines. It gives merely the computed area, populousness, and revenue of Hindústán, respecting which the author observes : “ Be it not concealed, that the country of Hindústán is comprised within four climates, and is now included in the dominions of the Emperor Akber. Its length from Hindú Koh, on the borders of Badakhshán, to the country of Orissa, which is on the borders of Bengal, from West to East, is 1680 legal coss. Its breadth from Cashmír to the hills of Barújh, which is on the borders of Súrat and Gujrát, is 800 coss Ilahí. Another mode is to take the breadth from the hills of Kamáún to the borders of the Deccan, which amounts to 1000 Ilahí coss. The soil is well adapted for cultivation, and within each coss are several inhabited villages. At the present time, namely A. H. 1002, Hindústán contains 3200 towns (including 120 large cities) and 500,000 villages, and yields a revenue of 64,00,000,000 Tankas ” He then finishes with these words :—

و چون تفصیل فصاحت را درین مختصر کجایش بیست تفصیل  
شهرها داده به ترتیب حروف تہجی نوشته خواهد شد



## NOTE F

*On Fire-worship in Upper India*

Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed mentions no other event of Ibráhím's reign but this respecting the Khorásánis \* Abú-l-fedá and the Tabakát-i-Násu'í are silent. What the Táríkh-i-Alfí says may be seen at p. 157. The Muntakhabu-l-Tawá'íkh has nothing more on the subject than is contained in the Tabakát-i-Akberí. The Rauzatu-s-Safá is the same as the Táríkh-i-Alfí, except that the former omits the name of the place. Ferishta adds a few particulars not to be found in the others. He says :—

“The king marched from thence to another town in the neighbourhood, called Derá, the inhabitants of which came originally from Khorásán, and were banished thither with their families by Afrasiab, for frequent rebellions. Here they had formed themselves into a small independent state, and being cut off from intercourse with their neighbours by a belt of mountains nearly impassable, had preserved their ancient customs and rites, by not intermarrying with any other people. The king, having with infinite labor cleared a road for his army over the mountains, advanced towards Dera, which was well fortified. This place was remarkable for a fine lake of water about one parasang and a half in circumference, the waters of which did not apparently diminish, either from the heat of the weather or from being used by the army. At this place the king was overtaken by the rainy season, and his army, though greatly distressed, was compelled to remain before it for three months. But as soon as the rains abated, he summoned the town to surrender and acknowledge the faith.

\* Vide p. 187.

Sultán Ibráhím's proposal being rejected, he renewed the siege, which continued some weeks, with great slaughter on both sides. The town, at length, was taken by assault, and the Muhammedans found in it much wealth, and 100,000 persons, whom they carried in bonds to Ghazní. Some time after, the king accidentally saw one of those unhappy men carrying a heavy stone, with great difficulty and labour, to a palace which he was then building. This exciting his pity, he commanded the prisoner to throw it down and leave it there, at the same time giving him his liberty. This stone happened to be on the public road, and proved troublesome to passengers, but as the king's rigid enforcement of his commands was universally known, no one attempted to touch it. A courtier one day having stumbled with his horse over the stone, took occasion to mention it to the king, intimating, that he thought it would be advisable to have it removed. To which the king replied, "I commanded it to be thrown down and left there, and there it must remain as a monument of the calamities of war, and to commemorate my sense of its evils. It is better for a king to be pertinacious in the support even of an inadvertent command than that he should depart from his royal word." The stone accordingly remained where it was, and was shown as a curiosity in the reign of Sultán Bairám several years afterwards."

The position of this place is very difficult to fix. Ferishta says that in the year 472 H Ibráhím marched in person to India, and conquered portions if it never before visited by the Musulmáns. He extended his conquests to Ajúdhan, now called Pattan. Sheikh Faríd Shakr Ganj. He then went to Rúdpál, situated on the summit of a steep hill, which a river embraced on three sides, and which was protected by an impervious wood, infested by serpents. He then marched to Derá, which Briggs seems to place in the valley of the Indus, because he adds in a note, "Derá seems a common name in the vicinity of Multán for a town." The reading of the *Tárikh-i-Alfi* with respect to the two first places is much the most probable,

—namely, a fort in the country of Júd\* and Damál

The Rauzatu-s-Safá does not mention the first place, and speaks of the second as if it were on the sea shore. The third place he does not name. In Ferishtá it is Derá, and in the Táríkh-i-Alfí, Derápúi. It is possible that the Dehrá of Dehrá Dún may be meant; but, though the belt of mountains, the inaccessible jungle, the seclusion of the inhabitants, and the identity of name, are in favor of this supposition, we are at a loss for the inexhaustible lake and the impregnability of the position.

All the authors, however, who mention the circumstance, whether they give the name or not, notice that the inhabitants were banished by Afíásiáb, and this concurrent tradition respecting their expulsion from Khorásán seems to indicate the existence of a colony of Fire-worshippers in these hills, who preserved their peculiar rites and customs, notwithstanding the time which had elapsed since their departure from their native country.

Putting aside the probability, which has frequently been speculated upon, of an original connection between the Hindú religion and the worship of fire, and the derivation of the name

\* This country is noticed above at pp 25 and 159. It lies between the Indus and the Jailam, and is the Avud of the old travellers. It is the old Sanscrit name, and occurs in the Puranic lists, and on the Allahabad pillar, under the name of *Yaudheya*. Wilford says it is the Hud of the Book of Esther. It occurs also in the marginal legend of the reverse of the Baetro-Pelilevi Coins. See *Journal of S. Briggs*, Vol VI p 973, *As Researches*, Vol VIII p 349. *Lassen's Zeitschrift f. d. K. d. Morgenlandes*, Vol III p 196.

of Magadha from the Magi, there is much in the practical worship of the Hindús, such as the *hom*, the *garatí*, the address to the sun\* at the time of ablution, the prohibition against insulting that luminary by indecent gestures,† —all which would lead an inattentive observer to conclude the two religions to bear a very close resemblance to one another. It is this consideration which should make us very careful in receiving the statements of the early Muhammedan writers on this subject; and the use of the word *Gabí*, to signify not only, especially, a Fire-worshipper, but, generally, an Infidel of any denomination, adds to the probability of confusion and inaccuracy.

European scholars have not been sufficiently attentive to this double use of the word, and all those who have relied upon M. Petis de la Croix's translation of Sherífu-d-dín, have considered that, at the period of Timúr's invasion, fire-worship prevailed most extensively in upper India, because *Gabí* is used throughout by the historians of that invasion, to represent the holders of a creed opposed to his own, and against which his rancour and cruelty were unsparingly directed.

\* See Lucian's description of the circular dance peculiar to Indian priests, in which they worship the sun, standing with their faces towards the east — *De Saltatione* See also Böhlen, *das alte Indien*, Vol I pp 137, 146, Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, Art *Indien*, pp 166, 172

† Hesiod enables us to disguise it in a learned language,

Μηδ' ἀντ' ἡελλοιο ἑρμῆος ὅρβος ὀμιχεῖν

*Op et Di* τ 672

See also Menu, iv 52 *Rámáyana* II, 59. Böhlen *d' alt Ind* Vol I p 139

But though the word is used indiscriminately, there are certain passages, in which it is impossible to consider that any other class but Fire-worshippers is meant. Thus, it is distinctly said that the people of Tughlakpúí\* believed *in the two principles of good and evil in the universe, and acknowledged Ahimán and Yezdan (Ormuzd)* The captives massacred at Loní† are said to have been *Magians, as well as Hindús*, and in the passage quoted in the article HABIB-U-S-SIYAR, it is stated that the son of Safí Gabr threw himself into the fire, *which he worshipped*

We cannot refuse our assent to this distinct evidence of the existence of Fire-worshippers in upper India as late as the invasion of Timúr, A D 1398-9 There is, therefore, no improbability that the independent tribe which had been expelled by Afrásiáb, and practised their own peculiar rites, and whom Ibráhím, the Ghaznevide, attacked in A D 1079, were a colony of Fire-worshippers from Irán, who, if the date assigned be true, must have left their native country before the reforms effected in the national creed by Zoroaster.

Indeed, when we consider the constant intercourse which had prevailed from the oldest time between Persia and India,‡ it is surprising that we do not find more unquestionable instances of the persecuted Fire-worshippers seeking an asylum in Northern India, as well as Guzerát.

\* Cheriffuddin, *Hist de Timur*, Tom III p 81

† Price's *Chronological Retrospect of Mah Hist* Vol III p 254.

‡ Trower, *Raja Tarangini*, Vol II p 441



The instances in which they are alluded to before this invasion of Timúr are very rare, and almost always so obscurely mentioned, as to leave some doubt in the mind, whether foreign ignorance of native customs and religious rites may not have given a colour to the narrative.

The evidence of the Chinese traveller, Hienentsang, to the existence of sun-worship at Multán in 640 A. D. is very decisive. He found there a "temple of the sun, and an idol erected to represent that grand luminary," with dwellings for the priests and reservoirs for ablution;\* yet he says the city was inhabited chiefly by men of the Brahminical religion.

A few centuries before, if Philostratus is to be believed, Apollonius after crossing the Indus, visited the temple of the sun at Taxila, and Phraotes, the chief of the country, describes the Indians, as in a moment of joy "snatching torches from the altar of the sun," and mentions that he himself never drank wine, except "when sacrificing to the sun." After crossing the Hyphasis, Apollonius goes to a place, which would seem to represent Jwála Mukhí, where they "worship fire" and "sing hymns in honor of the sun."†

When the Arabs arrived in the valley of the Indus, they found the same temple, the same idol, the same dwellings, the same reservoirs.

\* *Journal Asiatique*, 4th series, Tom. VIII p 298, and *Foe Koei* Kí, p 393

† Philostratus *Vita Apollonii*, Lib II. Capp 24, 32, Lib III Cap. 14.

as had struck the Chinese, but their description of the idol would lead us to suppose that it was a representation of Budh. Birúní, however, whose testimony is more valuable than that of all other Muhammedans, as he was fully acquainted with the religious system of the Hindús, plainly tells us\* that the idol of Multán was called *Aditya*,† because it was consecrated to the sun, and that Muhammed bin Kassam, the first invader, suspended a piece of cow's flesh from its neck, in order to show his contempt of the superstition of the Indians, and to disgust them with this double insult to the dearest objects of their veneration ‡

Shortly before Birúní wrote, we have another instance of this tendency to combine the two worships. In the message which Jaipál sent to Násiru-d-dín, in order to dissuade him from driving the Indians to desperation, he is represented to say, according to the *Tarikh-i-Alfí*. “The Indians are accustomed to pile their property, wealth, and precious jewels in one heap, and to kindle it with the fire, *which they worship*. They then kill their women and children, and with nothing left in the world they rush to their last onslaught, and die in the field of battle, so that for their victorious enemies the only spoil

\* M. Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans* p. 141

† See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I p. 761. *Anthologia Sanscritica*, p. 172. *As. Res.* Vol. I p. 263. Vans Kennedy, *Ancient and Hindu Mythology*, p. 349.

‡ There is nothing in the various origins ascribed to the name of Multán which gives any colour to the supposition that the city was devoted to the worship of the sun. See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I p. 99. *Zeitschrift f. d. K. d. Morg.* Vol. III p. 196.

is dust and ashes " The declaration is a curious one in the mouth of a Hindú, but may perhaps be considered to indicate the existence of a modified form of pyrolatry in the beginning of the eleventh century

The practice alluded to is nothing more than the *Johar*, which is so frequently practised by Hindús in despair, as at p. 190, and was not unknown to the nations of antiquity. Sardana-palus performed it, on the capture of Babylon "He raised a large pyre in his palace, threw upon it all his wealth in gold, silver, and royal robes, and then placing his concubines and eunuchs on it, he, they, and the entire palace were consumed in the flames."\* The Saguntines did the same, when their city was taken by Hannibal,† and Arrian gives us an account of one performed by the Brahmins, without noticing it as a practice exclusively observed by that class ‡ The peculiarity of the relation consists in Jaipál's declaration that the Indians *worshipped the fire*, not in the fact of their throwing their property and valuables into it.

The practice of self-cremation also appears to have been common at an earlier period ; and there were conspicuous instances of it when foreign nations first became acquainted with India. One occurs above, at p. 155, where this very Jaipál, having no opportunity of dying in the field of battle, committed himself to

\* Diodorus Siculus, II 27

† Polybius, III 17 Livy, XXI 14

‡ *De Expedt. Alex.* VI 7

the flames Other histories tell us that it was then a custom amongst the Hindús that a king—who had been twice defeated was disqualified to reign, and that Jaipál, in compliance with this custom, resigned his crown to his son, lighted his funeral pyre with his own hands, and perished in the flames

The Greeks and Romans were struck with the instances which they witnessed of the same practice Calanus, who followed the Macedonian army from Taxila, solemnly burnt himself in their presence at Pasargadæ, being old and tired of his life \* Zarmanochegas, who accompanied the Indian ambassadors sent by a chief, called Porus, to Augustus, burnt himself at Athens, and directed the following inscription to be engraved on his sepulchral monument:—“Here lies Zarmanochegas, the Indian of Bargaosa, who deprived himself of life, according to a custom prevailing among his countrymen”†

Strabo correctly observes, on the authority of Megasthenes, that suicide is not one of the dogmas of Indian philosophy, indeed, it is attended by many spiritual penalties,‡ and even penance which endangers life is prohibited § There is a kind of exception, however, in favor of suicide by fire and water,|| but then only

\* Diodorus Sic XVII 107 Valerius Max I viii Extern 10 Cicero, Tusc II 22

† Suetonius, Augustus, 21 Strabo, Geograph XV 1

‡ Rhode, *Religiöse Bildung der Hindus*, Vol I p 451, Böhlen, *das alte Indien*, Vol I pp 286—290

§ See Wilson's note to Mill's *British India* Vol II p 417

|| Colebrooke *Asiatic Researches*, Vol VII p 256, where an instance is adduced from the *Raghuransa* and *Ramaina*

when age, or infirmity, makes life grievous and burdensome. The former has of late years gone quite out of fashion, but it is evident that in ancient times there were many devotees ready to sacrifice themselves in that mode.

Quique suas struxere pyras, vivique calentes  
 Conscendere rogos. Proh' quanta est gloria genti  
 Injecisse manum fatis, vitæque repletos  
 Quod superest, donasse Dns —————

*Pharsalia* iii. 240

It was, therefore, a habit sufficiently common amongst the Indians of that early period, to make Lucan remark upon it as a peculiar glory of that nation.

All this, however, may have occurred without any reference to fire as an object of worship; but the speech of Jaipál, if not attributed to him merely through Muhammedan ignorance, shows an unquestionable devotion to that worship.

But to continue. Istakhri, writing a century earlier than this transaction, says, "some parts of Hind and Sind belong to *Gabrs*, but a greater portion to Kafirs and idolaters: a minute description of these places would, therefore, be unnecessary and unprofitable."\*

Here, evidently, the Fire-worshippers are alluded to as a distinct class: and these statements, written at different periods respecting the religious creeds of the Indians, seem calculated to impart a further degree of credibility to the specific assertions of Sherífu-d-dín, Khondemír, and the other historians of Timúr's expedition to India.

\* Ouseley's *Oriental Geography* p 146

But the people alluded to by them need not have been colonies of refugees, fleeing from Muhammedan bigotry and persecution. There are other modes of accounting for their existence in these parts. They may have been Indian converts to the doctrine of Zoroaster, for we read that not only had he secret communication with the Brahmins of India,\* but when his religion was fully established, he endeavoured to gain proselytes in India, and succeeded in converting a learned Brahmin, called Tchengri-ghatchah by Anquetil du Perron,† who returned to his native country with a great number of priests. Firdúsí tells us that Isfandiár‡ induced the monarch of India to renounce idolatry and adopt fire-worship, inso-much that not a Brahmin remained in the idol-temples. A few centuries afterwards, we have indisputable testimony to the general spread of these doctrines in Cábul, and the Pánjáb. The emblems of the Mithraic§ worship so predomina-

\* Bactrianus Zoroastres, cum superioris Indiæ secreta fidentius penetraret, ad nemorosam quamdam venerat solitudinem, cujus tranquillis silentiis præcelsa Brachmanorum ingenia potiuntur eorumque monitu rationes mundani motus et siderum, purosque sacrorum ritus, quantum colligere potuit, cruditus, ex his, quæ didicit, aliqua sensibus Magorum infudit.

Ammian. Mareell. Juhanus, XXIII 6 33

† *Zendavesta*, Vol. I Ch. II p. 70

‡ He is said, according to the *Zínatu-t-Tawárikh*, to have been the first convert made by Zoroaster, and Gashtasp, his father, was persuaded by the eloquence of the prince to follow his example. The king ordered twelve thousand cow-hides to be tanned fine, in order that the precepts of his new faith might be engrossed upon them. In this respect what a contrast is there to Hindu exclusiveness! The Pandits withheld their sacred books from Col. Polier, for fear that he should bind them in calf-skin. Polier, *Mythologie des Indous*, Tom II p. 224

§ Using this word in its usual though not proper, acceptation. The

ate on the coins of the Kanerkis, as to leave no doubt upon the mind that it was the state-religion of that dynasty.\*

Ritter entertains the supposition, that as the Khiljî family came from the highlands which afforded a shelter to this persecuted race, they may have had a leaning to these doctrines, and he offers a suggestion, that the new religion which Alâu-d-dîn wished to promulgate, may have been that of Zoroaster.† and that this will account for the Panjâb and the Dûâb being full of his votaries at the time of Timûr's invasion. But this is a very improbable supposition, and he has laid too much stress upon the use of the word *Gabr*, which, if taken in the exclusive sense adopted by him, would show not only that these tracts were entirely occupied by Fire-worshippers, but that Hindûs were to be found in very few places in either of them.

After this time, we find no notice whatever of the prevalence of fire-worship in Northern India, and its observers must then have been exterminated, or they must have shortly after been absorbed into some of the lower Hindû communities. It may not be foreign to this part of the enquiry to remark, that on the remotest borders of Rohilkhand, just under the

real Mithraic worship was a fusion of Zoroastrianism and Chaldaism or the Syrian worship of the sun. See the authorities quoted in Gauzer's and Milman's notes to Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. I p 340.

\* Lassen, *Journal As Soc Bengal*, Vol. IX. p. 456, and H. T. Prinsep, *Note on the Historical Results from Bactrian Coins*, p. 105.

† See Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. Part 1. pp 577—79.

hills, there is a tribe called *Gobrí*, who retain some peculiar customs, which seem to have no connection with Hindú superstition. They are said to have preceded the present occupants of the more cultivated lands to the south of the Tarái, and may possibly be the descendants of some of the *Gabis* who found a refuge in upper India. The name of *Gobrí* would certainly seem to encourage the notion of identity, for the difference of the first vowel, and the addition of a final one, offer no obstacle, any more than they do in the name of *Gobiyas*,\* who gave information to Socrates on the subject of the Persian religion, and is expressly declared by Plato to be an ἀνὴρ μάγος

There is another inferior Hindú tribe, to the west of the upper Jumna, and in the neighbourhood of the Tughlakpúr mentioned above, who having the name of *Magh*,† and proclaiming themselves of foreign extraction (inasmuch as they are descendants of Rájá Mukhtesar, a Saisutí Brahmin, king of Mecca, and maternal

\* Plato, *Axiochus*, Tauchnitz, Vol VIII p 204 The same name is common in Herodotus, Xenophon, Justin, and other authors, who deal in Persian History The warmth of an Irish imagination ascribes to the Greeks a still greater perversion of the original word

"Hyde," says the enthusiastic O'Brien, "was the only one who had any idea of the composition of Cabiri, when he declared it was a Persian word somewhat altered from Gabri or Guebri, and signifying fire-worshippers It is true that Gabri now stands for fire-worshippers, but that is only because they assumed to themselves this title which belonged to another order of their ancestors The word is derived from *gabh*, a smith, and *ir*, sacred, meaning the sacred smiths, and Cabiri being only a perversion of it, is of course in substance of the very same import \* \* \* \* Goblian Saer means the sacred poet, or the Freemason Sage, one of the Guebhres, or Cabiri" *Round Towers of Ireland*, pp 354, 386

† *Journal As Soc Bengal*, Vol VII p 754



grandfather of Muhammed<sup>11</sup>)\* would seem to invite the attention of any inquirer after the remnant of the stock of Magians; but all their customs, both religious and social, are of the Hindú stamp, and their only peculiarity consists in being the sole caste employed in the cultivation of *mendhi* (*Lawsonia inermis*.)†

\* This is not at all an uncommon paternity for the lower tribes to assume. There is nothing in which Hindú ignorance is more betrayed, than in these silly attempts to enrol the false prophet amongst their native heroes. See especially Wilford's absurd and dirty story, showing how Muhammed was of Brahminical descent (*As Res* IX 160) Wilson considers that the story was manufactured especially for Wilford, but it is traditionally current among the ignorant in some parts of Upper India (*Note to Mill's India*, II 176) The reputed Brahminical origin of Akber is more reasonable, inasmuch as it can be attributed to gratitude, and is not opposed to the doctrine of transmigration; but why Muhammed should also be chosen, whose votaries have proved the most unrelenting persecutors of Hindús, can only be ascribed to the marvellous assimilating powers of their mental digestion, fostered by the grossest credulity and ignorance of past events, which can, as Milton says, "corporeal to incorporeal turn," and to that indiscriminate craving after adaptation, which induces them even now to present their offerings at the shrines of Muhammedans, whose only title to saint is derived from the fact of their having despatched hundreds of infidel and accursed Hindús to the nethermost pit of Hell

† See also Shea and Troyer, *Dabistan*, Vol. I. pp c cxxv *Asiatic Researches*, Vol IX. pp 74, 81, 212 Vol XI p 76 Vol XVI p 15 Dr Bird, *Journal As Soc Bombay*, No ix. p 186 Rammohun Roy, *Translation of the Veds*, pp 29, 73, 109—118 Malcolm, *History of Persia*, Vol I pp 488—494 Wilson, *Vishnu Purana*, pp xl 84, 397 *North British Review*, No ii p 376 Klaproth, *Mémoires Relatifs a l'Asie*, Tom II p 81 Onseley, *Travels in Persia* Vol I pp 102—146 Ritter, *Erkunde von Asien*, Vol IV Pt I pp 574, 614—619 Rhode, *Religiose Bildung der Hindus*, Vol I p 42, Vol II p 290 Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, pp 295—302 Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol I pp 30, 149, 153, 188, 217. F Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie*, Vol I pp 518—524

## XXIII.

## تاریخ بد اوئی

## TARÍKH-I-BADAUNÍ

This history, by Mullá Abdu-l-Kádu Malúk Sháh of Badáun, is called by the author, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawáíkh*, but as many others have compiled works under that title, I have thought it better to distinguish it by the name most frequently given to it in Hindústán

It is a general history of India from the time of the Ghaznevídes to the fortieth year of Akber, and, in the reign of the latter, is especially useful, as correcting by its prevalent tone of censure and disparagement the fulsome eulogium of the *Akbernáma*. Despite this systematic depreciation, it has been observed<sup>†</sup> that Abdu-l-Kádu's narrative conveys a more favorable impression of the character of Akber than the rhetorical flourishes of the Court Journalist.

It concludes with lives of the Saints, Philosophers, Physicians, and Poets, of Akber's reign.

The author, who died at the close of the sixteenth century, was a very learned man, and

\* Elphinstone, *History of India*, Vol. II p. 207. *Biographical Dictionary*, L. U. K. Vol. I, p. 583.

frequently employed by the Emperor to make translations into Persian from the Arabic and Sanscrit, as in the case of the Muajjamu-l-Buldán, Jámiu-r-Rashídí, and the Rámáyana; yet, notwithstanding this employment, for which he acknowledges he received, in one present only, one hundred and fifty gold Mohurs and ten thousand Rupees, besides a grant of rent-free land, his distinguished patron receives no favor at his hands. He composed a moral and religious work, entitled Nijátu-r-Rashíd, which he wrote at the suggestion of his friend Nizám-u-d-dín Ahmed, the historian, and which he must have completed very late in life, because the Muntakhabu-t-Tawáríkh is mentioned in it. He also informs us that he translated two out of the eighteen Sections of the Mahábhárata, and abridged a History of Cashmír, which, under the annals of A. H. 998, is said to have been translated from the original Hindí by Mulla Sháh Muhammed Sháhábádí,—but apparently not the Ráj Tarangíní, for the translation of that work is usually attributed to Mauláná Imádu-d-dín. According to Professor H. H. Wilson\* there were frequent remodellings or translations of the same work, but amongst those which he notices he does not mention one by Mullá Sháh Muhammed Sháhábádí.

Many of the translations from the Sanscrit which were made about this period, and those of Abdu-l-Kádir, probably, among the rest, appear to have been executed under the superintendence

\* *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV p 2

of Fáizí, the brother of the minister Abú-l-Fazl, and he is usually supposed to have been the first Musulmán who applied himself to the language and literature of the Brahmins; but this seems to be a mistake.\*

The aversion with which Abdu-l-Kádír Badáúní regarded the Emperor and his able ministers, arose entirely, as he himself frankly confesses, from his own bigoted attachment to the most bigoted of religions, in which it was apprehended that Akber, with their aid and countenance, was about to introduce some dangerous innovations. He acknowledges, however, that he temporised, and never hesitated to make his own religious views subordinate to the primary consideration of self-interest.

Though the author of the *Tárikh-i-Badáúní* professes to derive his information chiefly from the *Tárikh-i-Mubárah-sháhi*, and the *Tabakát-i-Akberí*, indeed, in a passage in the *Niyátu-r-Rashíd*,† he calls his work a mere abridgment of the *Tabakát*;—yet, contrary to the usual Indian practice, there is much more original matter in it than such a declaration would lead us to suppose, and the whole narrative, even when avowedly taken from his predecessors, is tinged with his peculiar prejudices, of which many traits will be found even in the brief Extracts which are subjoined.

The author gives the following account of his own work, which was completed A H 1004—A D 1595-6

\* See Note G

† MS (Vol. 26, r)

“The writer, Abdu-l-Kádu Malúk Sháh Badáúní, in obedience to the orders of his Majesty king Akber, finished the abstract of the history of Cashmír in the year A. H. 999, which, at the request of the same monarch, was translated from Hindí into Persian by one of the learned men of his time; but as I cherished a great love for history from my very childhood, and as it was very seldom that my hours were not employed either in the reading or writing some history, I often thought of compiling a brief account of the kings of Dehli, beginning from the commencement of the Muhammedan rule in India to the present time \* \* \* \*. But circumstances gave me little opportunity of executing my design, and day after day I encountered numerous obstacles. Moreover, the scantiness of the means of subsistence obliged me to leave my country and friends, and thus the performance of the work was for a time suspended, until my excellent and beloved friend\* Nízamu-d-dín Ahmed Bakhshí, went to Paradise. Excellent as is the history composed by this individual, yet I reflected that some additions could possibly be made to it, and I accordingly commenced to abstract briefly the accounts of some of the great kings of India, from the historical works called Mubárah-sháhi and Nízamu-t-Tawárikh Nízámí, sometimes ad-

\* His warm friendship for Nízamu-d-dín has already been shown at p. 185, and it appears to have been reciprocated by Nízamu-d-dín, for in a passage in the Muntakhabu-t-Tawárikh (MS Fol 174 r) we find that the Bakhshí had no scruple about giving in false returns, concealing the real cause of the absence of Abdu-l-Kádu

ding my own observations Great brevity has been observed in the style, and the use of figurative and flowery language throughout avoided I have named this work Muntakhabu-t-Tawárikh It is hoped that this history, the object of which has been to place upon record the deeds of the great Muhammedan kings, and to furnish the means of transmitting my own reputation to posterity, will rather prove a source of my lasting happiness, than tend to aggravate my misfortunes

“As it is my intention to write only what is true, I hope that God will forgive me, if I should ever allow myself to descend to the relation of minute and trivial particulars ”

At the conclusion, he says that it was at one time his intention to have added a history of Cashmír, Guzerát, Bengal, and Sind, and an account of the wonders of India, but as they had no necessary connection with the history of the Dehli Emperors, he changed his determination, and concluded his labours, in the year of the Hyrí 1004, and as Nizámu-d-dín died in 1003, it would appear that he was only one year employed upon this history But the preface is not very explicit upon this point, and the meaning must be conjectured.

This is one of the few works which would well repay the labour of translation, but it would require a person to bring to the task a greater degree of knowledge of the Persian language than most Indian Histories demand, as well as a thorough acquaintance with con-

temporary historians; for the author not only uses some uncommon words, but indulges in religious controversies, invectives, eulogiums, dreams, biographies, and details of personal and family history, which interrupt the unity of the narrative, and often render it a difficult matter to restore the broken links of connection. Nevertheless, it must be confessed, that these digressions are the most interesting portion of his work, so rarely do the other obsequious annalists dare to utter their own sentiments, especially such as would be ungrateful to a royal ear, or to confess their own errors and foibles, as Abdu-l-Kádír does with so much complacency and indifference. His own knowledge also of contemporary history is so great, that it induces him very often to presume that his reader cannot be ignorant of that with which he himself is so intimately acquainted. He consequently slurs over many facts, or indicates them so obscurely, as frequently to compel a translator to supply the omissions from his own resources and conjectures

The abstract of Indian History, from the Ghaznevide Emperors to Akber—Akber's history—and the Biographies of holy and wise men, physicians, and poets—each occupy about one-third of the volume, as will be seen from the subjoined abstract. Almost all the headings have been added on the margin by a copyist, the author giving very few, except the names of kings and others whose lives he records; yet these must be of some antiquity, as many copies concur in giving them in the same language and form.

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seized and killed —Death of Sháh Tahmásp king of Persia —Death of Sháh Isma'il the second, and accession of Sultán Muhammed, son of Sháh Tahmásp —Fight of Ásaf Khán with the Rájah of Idar —The emperor's indifference to the Muhammedan faith —The ceremony of kissing the ground established as a mode of obeisance —Abú-l-fazl translates the gospel —Bír Bar.—Worship of the sun —Abú-l-fazl appointed as superintendent of the temples of fire-worshippers —Altercation between Abú-l-fazl and the compiler of this work —Méán Tánzen —Arrival of an ambassador from Abdullah Khán Uzbek —The presentment made by the learned —Muzaffar Khán killed in Bengal —Death of Hakím Núru-d-dín —Arrival of Sheikh Muthí Afghán.—Khwájah Maulá-ná Shírází, the heretic, who knew the art of making amulets —The author of this book, which is full of malignity, abuses Kází Alí, of Baghdád —Account of an organ —Murder of Sháh Mansúr —Controversy between Muhammedans and Christians —A tavern built at the gate of the palace, and orders issued respecting the purchase of wine, and unlawful acts not prohibited —Regarding certain jocular sayings —Orders issued prohibiting the teaching of the commentaries and traditions —Death of Makhdúmu-l-mulk and Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí —Death of Ghaíásu-d-dín Alí, Ásaf Khán and Sheikh Jalál Thánesarí —Arrival of Mír Fateh-ullah Shírází from the Deccan —Orders issued for the compilation of the Táríkh-i-Alfí —Translation of the Mahábhárat —Míán Tánzen —A brief account of Rám and his wife Sítá —Marriage of a daughter of Rájah Bhagwant with prince Selím —Commencement of the second Karan —Death of Mírzá Muhammed Hakím, son of the emperor Humayún —Bír Bar killed —Fight with the Roshanáí Afgháns —Death of Abú-l-ghaus Bukhári —Assassination of the blessed Mullá Ahmed Thattaví by the merciless sword of an accursed pigling —Translation of the Rámáyana —Death of Sháh Fateh-ullah Shírází —Death of Hakím Abú-l-fateh —Death of Todar Mal and Bhagwán Dás —Death of Sheikh Wajihu-d-dín —Date of the death of Shahábu-d-dín Khán —Death of Sheikh Ibráhím Chishtí —Death of Urí Shírází —Death of Kází Alí, of Baghdád, grandson of Kází Husan —Fight of Zain Khán with the Roshanáí Afgháns —Death of Sheikh Mubárah Nágorí —Religious precepts —Administrative orders —Death of Nízámu-d-dín Ahmed —Death of Sheikh Ya'kúb Cashmírí —Death of Hakím Amu-l-mulk and Hakím Hasan Gilání —The Sháhnámah turned into prose —Death of Sheikh Faizí, son of Mubárah Nágorí —Death of Hakím Humám

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SIZE—Folio—containing 562 pages, of 23 lines to a page

## EXTRACTS

Upon the death of Abú Ishák, son of Álaptigin, in A H 367, Mamlúk Sabuktigin, who was a slave of Amír Mansúr, son of Núh Sámání, ascended the throne, with the unanimous concurrence of the army, the people, and nobles, and hoisted the standard of conquest

With the view of prosecuting a religious war, he invaded India, and fought a great battle, on the confines of the country of Koh Júd, with Rájá Jaipál, the ruler of India. Peace was, however, concluded with Jaipál, but the Hindú monarch having afterwards violated the conditions of the treaty imposed upon him, the king marched against him a second time with a disciplined force, consisting of one hundred thousand horse, and a great number of immense elephants. An obstinate battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Lamghánát between the hostile armies, but the zephyr of victory breathing on Amír Násiru-d-dín's banner, the hosts of Jaipál were totally defeated, and he fled towards India. The country as far as Lamghánát fell into Amír Násiru-d-dín's hands, and the Khutbah was ordered to be read, and coins struck and circulated, in his name. Amír Násiru-d-dín, in co-operation with Amír Núh, son of Mansúr Sámání, likewise achieved brilliant victories in Khorásán and Máwaráu-n-nahr

\* \* \* \* \*

Sabuktigin died in the month of Sha'bán 387, A H, on his way to Ghaznín, having appointed his son Isma'il as his successor. Mahmúd, the eldest son of Sabuktigin, on receiving intelligence of his father's death, addressed a friendly letter to his brother, in which he expressed his wish for a peaceful settlement of affairs, and proposed that Isma'il should make over Ghaznín to him, and receive Balkh instead. Isma'il did not accede to his proposal, and a conflict ensuing between the brothers in consequence, Mahmúd overcame Isma'il, and after his defeat besieged him in Ghaznín, for a period of six months. The friends of the two brothers at length, interposing their good offices, succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between them. Isma'il paid a visit to Mahmúd, who henceforward was invested with sovereign authority in the kingdom.

About this period, Mahmúd encountered Mahmúd Mansúr, son of Núh Sámání, and the brother of the latter, named Abdu-l-Malik, and overcame both. He also vanquished Abdu-l-Malik's officers, by name Fúk and Maktúrún, who had likewise taken the field against him. Thus the territories of Khorásán, Ghaznín and the frontiers of India, fell under the sway of Mahmúd.

Mahmúd's mother being the daughter of the chief of Zábul, he was called "Mahmúd Zábulí," as Firdausí says, "The auspicious court of Mahmúd Zabulí is a boundless ocean. I dived

into this ocean in search of gems, but found none. My success is to be ascribed to my misfortune, and not to the ocean."

As a complimentary correspondence was carried on between Mahmūd and Al-Hafīz-Billah Abbās, the Khalifa of Baghdad the Khalifa sent to Mahmūd a handsome honorary dress, with a present of many costly articles, conferring on him at the same time the titles of Amir-ul-millat and Yemīn-ul-daulah.

Mahmūd having marched from Ghazni to Balch, and thence to Herāt, and having captured both these countries in 387, A. H., returned to Ghazni.

In A. H. 723, Barmashah, the Moghal brother of the king of Khwarizm, and who had on a previous occasion invaded Hindūstan, advanced with a large army to the province of Dehli, captured several forts, and committed ravages and massacres from Lahore, Simāra, and Indr to the confines of Badkūsh, and did not retreat till the victorious arms of Islam were arrayed against him. The Sultan pursued him as far as Kalāson, and leaving Fakhr-ud-din Anwar Shah to dismantle that fortress, he returned towards Dehli.

At this juncture, it occurred to the Sultan to double the taxes of the inhabitants of the Dīab, as they had shown themselves refractory. He insisted also a cattle-tax, and a house-tax, and several other imposts of an oppressive nature, which so depopulated that country, as to reduce it almost to a desert.

Sultan Salmān, when on his march back to Agra, where he passed the rainy season, invested Sārang Dēo with the command of the fortress of Dhoolah.

In the year 910 A. H. after the sun Canopus had begun to appear, he commenced his march against the fort of Mandrail, which capitulated to him, on his promising to spare the life of the Rāi of that place. He afterwards demolished the temples and fire-altars in that direction, and on his way back to Agra repaired the fort of Dhoolah. After his arrival at Agra, he granted permission to the nobles, who were in attendance on him, to return to their respective Jagirs.

On the 3rd of Safir 911 A. H. a severe shock of an earthquake was felt throughout the whole of India. the very hills shook: edifices of ever the firmest foundation were thrown down. the earth gave under, and left fissures in different places; villages and trees are said to have been transported, together with the ground upon which they stood, from their original sites, so that the people concluded that these horrors were the harbingers of the day of judgment. The Wikāi-i-Bāheri and certain other histories state that this violent shock was not confined to India: it was felt also in foreign countries. The date of this event is represented by the letters constituting the word Kāfi, and is recorded in the following

disturb,—“The earthquake which occurred in the year 911 A H shook the soil of Agra with such violence, that the loftiest buildings became like so many humble huts” Indeed, no records tell of so terrible an earthquake since the time of Adam

In the year 912 A H on the appearance of the star Canopus, Sultán Sekandar marched towards the fort of Udantgír He laid siege to it, and ultimately effected its reduction, though it was attended with great loss on his side He put most of the infidel garrison to the sword, consigned the rest, with their families, to the fire, razed the temples, and erected large mosques on their ruins

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Relating to Sultán Ibráhím, son of Sekander Lodi*

Rái Bikramájít, who succeeded his father Rái Mán Sing, in the possession of Gwáhlár, found himself unable to withstand the royal troops, and was obliged to surrender Bádalgárh,\* one of the forts dependent on Gwáhlár, and built by Mán Sing On this occasion, a brazen idol of the Hindús fell into the hands of the Musulmán, which they sent to Agra Sultán Ibráhím forwarded it to Dehlí, and placed it before one of the gates of the city, whence it was removed to Fatehpúr in the year 902, where the compiler of this history saw it Plates, and bells, and every kind of instruments, were subsequently manufactured from the metal of which it was composed

In those days, Sultán Ibráhím, entertaining suspicions against his nobles, fettered and imprisoned most of them, and transported others to various distant places

\* \* \* \* \*

Selím Sháh,† in the beginning of his reign, issued orders that as the Saráis of Sher Sháh were two miles distant from one another, one should be built between them for the convenience of the public, that a mosque and a burial-ground should be attached to them, and that water and victuals, cooked and uncooked, should be always kept in readiness for the entertainment of Hindú, as well as Muhammedan, travellers In one of his orders he directed that all the Madad-m'ásh and Aima tenures, on which Sher Sháh had erected

\* This was the name of the old fort at Agra, which was evidently within the area of the present one, because Jehangír at the opening of his memoirs, says, “my father demolished the old fort on the banks of the Jumna, and built a new one” It must, however, have been pretty nearly destroyed before Akber's time, by the explosion mentioned in one of the following extracts

† The correct name is Islam Sháh, but some historians style him Selím, and most copies of the *Tarikh-i-Badaúni* pervert it still more by giving the name as Islám

Saráis and laid out gardens, should not be alienated, and that no change should be made in their limits. He took into his pay all the establishments kept up by the nobles, according to the common practice of India, for catching elephants, and let none of them retain even any of the animals already caught, with the exception of one sorry female, adapted only for carrying baggage.

It was enacted that red tents should be in the exclusive use of the sovereign. He resumed, and placed under the immediate management of the state, the lands enjoyed by the troops, establishing pecuniary payment in lieu, according to the rates fixed by Sher Sháh. Circular orders were issued through the proper channels to every district, touching on matters religious, political, or revenue, in all their most minute bearings, and containing rules and regulations, which concerned not only the army, but cultivators, merchants, and persons of other professions, and which served as a guide to the officials of the state,—a measure which obviated the necessity of referring to a Cází or Muftí any case, relating to matters which hitherto had been settled according to the principles and precepts of Muhammedan law.

In order that these circular instructions might be fully comprehended, the nobles in command of ten, eight, or five thousand horse, were ordered to assemble every Friday in a large tent, within which was placed, on an elevated chair, a pair of Selím Sháh's slippers, and a quiver full of arrows. They then bowed down before the chair, one by one, according to their respective ranks, first of all the officer in command of the troops, and then the Munsif, or Amín, and so on, after which, with due respect and obeisance, they took their respective seats, when a Múnshí coming forward commenced reading to them the circular instructions above referred to, which filled eighty sheets of paper, and every difficult point then at issue within the province was decided according to their purport. If any of the nobles committed an act in contravention of these orders, it was reported to the king, who forthwith passed orders directing proper punishment to be inflicted on the offender, as well as on his family.

These rules were in force till the end of the reign of Selím Sháh, and the compiler of this history witnessed the scene above described, when he was young, that is, in the year 955 A. H. when he accompanied his maternal grandfather (may God extend his grace to him!) to the camp of Faríd Táran, commander of 5000 horse, which was then pitched in the district of Bajwára, a dependency of Biána.

In the year 954 or 955 A. H. (God knows which year is correct) Khwájah Wás Sarwání, who was appointed to command the expedition against A'zam Humayún, fought with the Niázis on the confines of Dhanhot, and was defeated. A'zam Humayún, flushed with this success, pursued the Khwájah as far as Sirhind. Selím Sháh dispatched a large force against the rebels, and a

battle ensued, in which the Niázis were defeated, and some of their women were made captives and sent prisoners to Gwáhár. Selím Sháh violated their chastity, and distributed among his troops the tents, standards, and other spoil of the Niázis which had fallen into his hands, bestowing upon them the titles which were common among the Niázis, such as Saiyid Khán, A'zam Humayún, Sháhbáz, &c. He granted them kettle drums, which were beaten at their respective gates at the stated times. These low persons, being suddenly invested with aristocratic privileges, exalted themselves to the dignity of the dogs of the celestial sphere.

In conformity with the practice of making rounds, which is occasionally observed among the prostitutes of India, they went every Friday night to do homage to Selím Sháh, instead of saying their prayers. On their arrival at the palace, the heralds exclaimed, "Oh king, be gracious enough to cast your Majesty's eyes upon such and such Kháus, who have come to do homage to your Majesty, and are offering up prayers for your health and welfare." This proceeding exceedingly disgusted the Afgháns, who were of the same tribe as the king. The Niázi titles, and the standards and drums, which were granted to them by Selím Sháh, are said by some historians to have been bestowed on them after the first battle. God knows whether they are correct or not. Some, again, say that Azam Humayún was defeated in both battles, and was never able again to take the field.

The ranks of the Niázis began to be thinned day by day, and were soon dispersed. In the first instance they took refuge with the Ghakars, in the neighbourhood of Rohátas, and then settled themselves in the hills in the vicinity of Cášmír. Selím Sháh, with the view of suppressing for the future the disturbances excited by these insurgents, moved with an overwhelming force, and took up a strong position within the hills to the north of the Panjáb, where for the purpose of stationing thánas, he built five fortresses, called Mánkot, Rashídkot, &c. As he had no friendly disposition towards the Afgháns, he forced them, for a period of two years, to bring stones and wood for the building of those fortresses, without paying them a single *salus*, or *jítal*. Those who were exempted from this labour were employed against the Ghakars, who gave them no rest, more especially the Ghakars of Adalsú and Shekal, with whom they had skirmishes every day. At night the Ghakars prowled about like thieves, and carried away whomsoever they could lay hands on, without distinction of sex and rank, put them in the most rigorous confinement, and then sold them into slavery.

These circumstances sorely afflicted the Afgháns, who felt that they were exposed to every kind of insult, but it was not in the power of any individual to lay their grievances before Selím Sháh, until one day, when Sháh Muhammed Firmán, a noble noted for his liberality and jocular speeches, and a presumptuous companion of

the king, exclaimed, "O my liege! last night I dreamt that three bags descended from heaven, one containing ashes, another, gold, and the third, papers, the ashes fell upon the heads of the troops, the gold upon the houses of Hindús, and the papers fell to the lot of the royal treasury" Selím Sháh did not take the allusion ill, and it had the effect of inducing him to promise that he would, on his return to Gwálahár, order his accountants to disburse two years pay to the troops, but his death prevented the fulfilment of this promise

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Ibráhím Khán, after an unsuccessful action at Khánwa, fled to Biána, which is a strong fort and in a commanding position Hemún immediately invested it, and skirmishes were of daily occurrence between the contending parties The fort was well supplied with guns and ammunition, and Ghází Khán, Ibráhím's father, who was in Hindaun, used to throw supplies into it by way of the hills to the west of Biána Hemún invested the fort for three months, and devastated the whole of the country in the neighbourhood, and my father's library in Basáwar was utterly destroyed.

### *Account of a famine*

At this time, a dreadful famine raged in the eastern provinces, especially in Agra, Biána and Dehli, so that one seer of Juwár sold for two and a half Tankas, and even at that price was obtained with difficulty Many of the faithful closed their doors, and died by ten and twenties, without either coffin or grave Hindús perished in the same numbers The common people fed upon the seeds of the Babúl and dry grass, and on the hides of the cattle which the wealthy slaughtered and sold After a few days, mortification ensued on their hands and feet, so that they died, and the date is represented by the "Wrath of God" The author himself witnessed the fact, that men eat their own kind, and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous, one could scarcely look upon them What with the scarcity of rain, famine, and uninterrupted warfare for two years, the whole country was a desert, and no husbandmen remained to till the ground Insurgents also plundered the cities of the Musulmáns

Amongst the other incidents of the year 962, was the explosion in the fort of Agra, of which the following is a brief account When the army of A'dal Khán had left Agra, Ghází Khán sent his own officers with a garrison to protect the property, to keep the fort in a state of preparation, and to lay in provisions, for which purpose they had to examine the several storerooms and workshops By chance, when some man early in the morning went with a lamp into one of the rooms, a spark fell upon some gunpowder As

the room communicated with the Magazine, the whole was instantly ignited. The flames reached up to heaven, and the earth quaked, so that the inhabitants of the city thought that the day of Judgment had come, and prayed devoutly when they were roused thus suddenly from their slumbers. Enormous stones and columns were sent flying several coss to the other side of the Jumina, many people were destroyed, and the limbs of men and of animals were blown away, full ten or twelve miles from the Magazine. As the whole fort was called Badalgarh, the date was found in the words—"The fire of Badal."

While Hemún was encamped before Biana, the people died with the word "bread" upon their lips, and while he valued the lives of an hundred thousand men at no more than a barley corn, he fed his five hundred elephants upon rice, sugar, and butter. The whole world were astounded and disgusted at his cruelty and indifference. Hemún, once every day, sat with his own followers in public, and calling the Afgháns to his own table, he would invite them to eat, telling them to take up large handfuls, and he would abuse any one whom he saw eating slowly, and say "how can you with such a slender appetite expect to fight with any rascally Moghul?" As the Afgháns had now nearly lost the empire, and were completely subdued and powerless, they could not muster spirit enough to reply to the infidel, and laying aside their valour and impetuosity, for which they are so celebrated, they consented, whether from fear of consequences or hope of reward, to swallow his foul language like so many sweetmeats, adopting the following verses as their maxim

"In hope of a blessing, you place your hands on my feet,  
Give me only bread, and you may lay your slipper on my head."

\* \* \* \* \*

In A. H. 966, after I had left Basáwar, and gone to reside with Míhr Alí Beg at Agra, for the purpose of completing my education, the Beg pressed most earnestly upon Sheikh Mubarak Nágori, my tutor, and Malúk Sháh,\* my father (God sanctify his tomb!) his desire that I should accompany him on his projected expedition, and threatened that he would not depart, unless this request was conceded. These two dear guardians being at last persuaded that it was to my advantage to go, consented to the arrangement, and to please them, though an inexperienced traveller, and though compelled for the time to relinquish my usual studies, I started, in the height of the rains, on this perilous journey. Passing through Canauj, Lakhnau, Jaunpur and Benares, and seeing all that was to be seen, and holding interviews with several holy and learned personages, I crossed the river Ganges, and arrived at Chumár in the month of Zú-l-k'adah, A. H. 966.

\* In another passage he tells us, that his father, Malúk Sháh, died at Agra A. H. 969 (MS fol 110 r.)



Jamál Khán sent some of his dependants to meet Míhr Alí Beg, and they conducted him to Jamál Khán's house. The palaces of Sher Sháh and Selím Sháh, and all the ammunition and resources of the fort were shown to him, and he was apparently received with the utmost hospitality and kindness.

When the Firmán was read, which was intended to conciliate Jamál Khán, by conferring upon him five Perganahs of Jaunpúr in In'am tenure, in lieu of the fort of Chunár, Jamál Khan, thinking it possible that still further favours might be conferred upon him, again addressed a remonstrance to the king, filled with solicitations which it was out of the question could ever be granted, and sought to delay resigning his charge to Míhr Alí, until an answer was received from Court.

He wrote also, at the same time, communications both to Khán Zamán and to Fateh Khán Afghán, governor of Rohtás, in which he concealed and grossly misrepresented the circumstances of the case. When Míhr Alí was fully aware of the perfidy practised by Jamál Khán, and being not without suspicions of the fidelity of Fateh Khán, he left the fort under pretence of taking an airing, and crossing the river in considerable alarm, proceeded direct to Agra, leaving me in the fort alone.

As I thought it best to temporise with Jamál Khán by way of making my own escape, I proposed to him that I should try and bring back Míhr Alí, and effect a reconciliation. To this he acceded, and in the evening I got into a boat with the intention of crossing the river. It so happened, that a storm arose at the time, and a furious wind carried the frail and trembling boat right under the hill of Utáru, which is near the wall of the fort, and if the mercy of God, the ruler of earth and water, had not acted as my steerer, the bark of my life would have been dashed to atoms by the whirlpool of calamity against the hill of death. In the jungle which lies at the foot of the Chunár hills, Sheikh Muhammed Ghaus, one of the greatest saints of India, had resided for twelve years in the practice of asceticism, consuming the leaves and fruits of the forest as his sole food, and so celebrated was he for the fulfilment of his blessings and predictions, that even powerful kings used to come and visit him, and pay their respects. At his hermitage I arrived after my wreck, and had an interview with one of his dependants. He himself was not there, for in this very year he had proceeded from Gujrát to Agra, where he arrived in great pomp and circumstance, accompanied by several disciples, and gave considerable satisfaction to the Emperor by the principles and faith which he professed.

Sheikh Gadái, with that spirit of jealousy, spite, and avarice, which is a peculiar failing of the saints of Hindústán, was vexed at this intrusion of a rival, and looked upon him, as one shopman does on another, who commences the same trade, in the store directly over his head. Wise men know well the truth of the

adage, "Two of a trade never agree" Khan Khanán, who was much attached to Sheikh Gadai, did not receive Sheikh Muhammed with that degree of respect and favour which was his due. On the contrary, he assembled divines and learned men, in order to ridicule the treatise of the Sheikh, in which he had said that he had ascended into heaven, and had an interview with God, who assigned him a superiority over the prophet Muhammed, and had written other nonsense equally pernicious and blasphemous. He sent also for the Sheikh, and made him the butt of his contumely—so that the Sheikh, much chagrined, retired to Gwalíár, where he engaged himself in the pursuits of his holy calling, and in making proselytes, and managed to content himself with the proceeds of a Jágir, which yielded a crore of tankas

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At the time when the compiler of this work resided at Agra, for the purpose of finishing his education, Sheikh Muhammed Ghaus one day passed by in great state, and accompanied by a dense crowd, who rent the air with their acclamations. He was clothed in the garb of a Fakír. I was at first anxious to pay my respects to him, but when I learnt that he was in the habit of rising to receive the salutations of Hindús, that desire vanished, and I was deprived of the satisfaction I had anticipated. Another day, I saw him in the Bázár at Agra, with multitudes of people thronging before and behind him, and he was so constantly occupied in returning the salutations of the people on all sides of him, that he could not sit up erect during the whole time of his airing. Although he was eighty years old, his countenance was wonderfully fresh, and his whole appearance betokened any thing but old age and debility. The mercy of God be upon him !\*

On the 20th of the blessed month Ramazán of this year (969 H) I heard at Sahaswán of the death of my maternal grandfather. He had taught me several sciences, and I was much attached to him. The date of his death is represented by the letters composing the words, "The excellent of his time"

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In A H 977, the Perganah of Lakhnór (on the Rámghangá) was transferred from the possession of Husain Khán Cashmíri to that of Mehdi Kásim Khán, who had just returned from Mecca and had paid his respects to the Emperor at Rantanbhor. Husain

\* Among the biographies which are given at the close of the work, one is devoted to the Sheikh, in which the author says, that there was so little pride and self-sufficiency in the Sheikh's composition, that he was never known to utter the monosyllable *mun*, I. The instance he adduces to prove the assertion is, by the studied attempt to avoid the use of that word, more offensive than the most rampant egotism

Khán\* was highly indignant at this, and exclaimed "our friendship is broken, we shall meet no more till the day of judgment" Then sending away his wife, who was the daughter of Mehdí Kásim, to his relations at Khairábád, he himself started on a wild expedition towards the Sewálik hills,† where he arrived at last, loaded with spoils, consisting chiefly of idols, of which he had plundered the people on his way, and of which the pieces were falsely reported to be composed entirely of gold and silver. The hill-men, as is their custom, abandoned the lower hills after a slight resistance, and fled for security to higher elevations, of which the ascent was very dangerous. Husain Khán arrived at last at the place where Sultán Mahmúd, nephew of Pír Muhammed Khán, was slain. He read the fáteha for the pure spirits of the martyrs who fell there, and repaired their dilapidated tombs. He then ravaged the whole country as far as the Kasbah of Wajráíl, in the country of Rájá Ranka, a powerful Zemíndár, and from that town to Ajmír, which is his capital. In that place are to be found mines of gold and silver, silks, musk, and other merchandize peculiar to Tibet, from which country he was only distant two days' journey, —when, on a sudden, as has been frequently observed in those mountains, the neighing of the horses, and the sound of the kettle-drums, as well as the voices of his followers, caused the clouds to collect, and so much rain fell, that neither corn nor grass was to be procured † Famine stared the army in the face, and although Husain Khán, with the most undaunted intrepidity encouraged his men, by representing the wealth of the city and

\* This man, of whom some notice has already been taken in the Art TABAKA'T-I-AKBERI, appears to have been an enthusiast, or a mad man, who could not get over the persuasion that inexhaustible wealth was to be procured, from possessing himself of the mines in the hills. Five or six years afterwards, he plundered the Dúáb, and then made an attack on Basantpúr in the hills, where there was a royal garrison, and died from the effect of a gun-shot wound received there. Abdu-l-Kádir, who declares himself a devoted friend and admirer of Husain Khán, says that, though to all appearance he was a fool, he was in reality a very intelligent man.

An impression of the great wealth of Kamáún was generally prevalent about this time. Ferishta at the conclusion of his work, in speaking of the native Rájás of Hindústán, says —"The Rájá of Kamáún possesses extensive dominions. A considerable quantity of gold is procured by washing, and copper mines are to be found in the country. The treasures, too, are vast. It is a rule among the Rájás not to encroach upon the hoards of their ancestors, for it is a saying among them, that whoever applies his father's treasures to his own use, will become mean and beggarly in spirit, so that, at the present day, fifty-six distinct treasures exist, which have been left by the Rájás of Kamáún, each with the owner's seal upon it."

† This story reminds us of the succour which was so opportunely offered to the army of Marcus Aurelius, when it was engaged in a

the country, in gold, jewels and treasure, they were too much disheartened to second his resolution

On their retreat, the Káfirs, who were in possession of the passes, showered down stones and poisoned arrows upon them, and most of the bravest of his warriors drank the cup of martyrdom, and many of those, who escaped at the time, died five or six months afterwards from the effects of the poison

Husam Khán returned to Court, and requested that Kánt Gola\* might be conferred upon him in Jágir, in lieu of the one he held before This was graciously acceded to, and several times he made incursions to the foot of the hills with various success, but he was never able to penetrate into the interior Many fine fellows, who had escaped half-dead from his first expedition, now felt the malarious influence of the climate, and died off, but not in battle

After some years, Husam Khán, contrary to the advice and remonstrances of his friends, mustered his forces for a final struggle to get possession of the hills, and perished in the attempt, as, please God, will be mentioned in its proper place

About this time I went from Lakhnau to Badáun, where I formed a suitable nuptial alliance for my brother, Sheikh Muhammed, whom I loved from my very soul, nay, better than my own soul, for he was endowed with every excellent and angelic quality Three months did not elapse before he died, he, as well as Abdullatif, the light of my eyes, the earliest fruits of the garden of my life (my first born), who, when time cast an evil eye upon him, was carried off, in the twinkling of an eye,† from the cradle to the tomb, and I was suddenly reduced from the happiest to the saddest of men God created me, and to God shall I return!

\* \* \* \* \*

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hopeless conflict with the Marcomanni, in the barren mountains beyond the Danube

Oh nimium dilecte Deo! cui fundit ab antris  
Æolus armatas lucres, cui militat æther,  
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti

Claudian, *De tert Cons Honor* v 92

Tertullian, Eusebius, Jerome, and other Christian authors ascribe the miraculous shower to the prayers of the Christian soldiers in the army Suidas and Dio Cassius to a magician The fact is indisputable, the cause is more probably explained by our oriental writer In modern days, it has frequently been observed that severe actions have been followed by rain, and philosophical reasons have been assigned for this curious effect

\* This district which pretty nearly corresponds with Shahjehanpur in Rohilkhand, is sometimes styled Kant and Gola For the position and varying extent of this tract, see *Supplemental Glossary* Art GOLA.

† This triple repetition of the word eye is intended for a witticism.—frigid enough, and in a most inappropriate place

*Death of Sheikh Selím Chishtí*

In the year 979 H the palace at Agra and the palace at Fatehpúr were completed \* \* \* At the close of the month of Ramazán of this year, Sheikh Selím Chishtí, of Fatehpúr, died. He was one of the chief saints of Hindústán, and his sayings are worthy of commemoration. I will hereafter give a notice of him, please God! in this history.

During this year an unfortunate accident befell the author, of which the following are the particulars. At the period when Kánt Gola was held in Jágír by Muhammed Husain Khán, and when it pleased fate to associate me with him for some time, as I was appointed Judge of that district, I went on a pilgrimage to Makanpúr, where is the tomb of the holy Sheikh, Badí'u-d-dín Sháh Madár, (may God sanctify his secrets!) and I arrived there by way of Canauj. This son of man,—according to the disposition which he inherited from his sinful and ignorant nature, which he imbibed with his mother's crude milk, which is the cause of shame and reproach, and of impudent presumption and final destruction, which descended to him from Adam, which covered the eyes of his wisdom with a film of lust, and enclosed him in the net of lasciviousness,—committed all of a sudden, as was of old forewilled by providence, a gross impropriety within that shrine. Since the chastisement as well as the mercy of God was upon me, I received upon earth the punishment of my sin, by his ordaining that several attendants of the girl whom I fell in love with should inflict nine sword wounds upon my head, hands, and shoulders. They were all slight, except two, one exposed the veins of one of the fingers of my left hand, the other penetrated the bone of my skull, and reached to the brain. I was thus exposed as a brainless fellow, and fainted away, and appeared to be travelling in another world. May God bless my resurrection!

I met with an excellent surgeon in Bángar-mau, who closed my wounds within a week, and in the midst of my pain, I made a vow, that if I recovered I would go to Mecca—a vow which I have not yet been able to perform, but which I hope, God willing! to do before I die, and before some opposing cause intervenes to prevent the execution of that excellent resolve. The rest is with God!

Afterwards, I arrived at Kánt Gola, and had no sooner bathed after my recovery, than I was again laid on my bed by sickness, my body having become scabious from the effect of excessive cold. Husain Khán (may God bless him with eternal Paradise! for he showed himself more than a father to me!) administered some medicine, in the shape of a plaster and electuary, both made from the wood of the tamarisk, and enabled me to proceed on my journey to Badáún, where another surgeon took off the dressings,

and re-opened the wound on my head I was nearly expiring from the intensity of the pain \* \* \*

During this year a dreadful fire broke out at Badáún, and an immense number of Musulmáns and Hindús perished in the flames, carriages, conveying the remains of those who were burnt, were driven down to the river, and no one could tell who was a believer and who an infidel Many who escaped being burnt, rushed to the ramparts, and were so scorched by the flames, that men and women precipitated themselves from the wall in despair. Some had their skins burnt, and were otherwise injured Water seemed only to add fuel to the flames All this I witnessed with my own eyes, and heard the noise of the flames with my own ears A short time before this, a half-witted soothsayer from the Dúáb, who had put up with me in Badáún, said to me one day in private, that I ought to flee out of that city, as some infliction of Providence was about to befall it But I paid no attention to his vaticinations, as I considered him a mere frequenter of taverns and unworthy of belief

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Erection of the fort of Súrat, in defiance of the Portuguese infidels*

One day during the year 980, the king went to look at the fort of Súrat, and gave orders to repair the portions that had been battered and destroyed During his inspection he saw the large mortars, which had been despatched with a powerful fleet and army by Sulaimán Sultan, the Turkish Emperor, to assist in capturing the harbours of Guyrát, and had been left on the sea shore, covered with rust, because Sulaimán Agá, the admiral, had abandoned the enterprise for some reason or another \* There they

\* Muhammedan authors slur over the precipitate retreat, but Sheikh Zamu-d-din confesses to a panic—See Rowlandson, *Tolhut ul-muyahideen*, p 143 Maffei—who styles the admiral Sulaimán, “Solimanus Peloponnesius, vir enormi non minus adipe, quam avaritiâ et crudelitate notissimus,”—tells us, that the Turks were so terrified by the four lanterns, which the Portuguese hung out from some of the ships of the Goa fleet, that they set sail for Arabia in the utmost alarm, leaving behind them five hundred wounded and a great portion of their ordnance

Nonnius, (Nuno de Cunha) dum ad subsidium inclutus ferendum reliquam ornat classem, celeriter premissæ liburniæ sexdecim ad Madrasabam accesserunt noctu, quaternis in singulis puppis luminibus ad speciem augendum laud frustra sublati eo quippe terrore Turci percussi, tribus jam millibus suarum missis, \* \* \* noctis intempesti silentio conscendunt naves, duobus circiter mensibus in obsidione consumptis, re vela dant in Arabiam tantum cum trepidatione, ut sanctorum quingentos et magnam tormentorum partem sub reliquerint

Maffei *Hist Indic Lib vi* Vol II, p 503

remained, until Khudáwánd Khán had them carried into the fort of Súrat, at the time it was building. The few which remained had been taken to Júnágarh\* by the Governor. The king gave orders that some of them, which suited his purpose, should be sent to Agra †

The reason assigned for Khudáwánd Khán's ‡ building the fort of Súrat is, that the Feringís used to oppress the Musulmán's in every kind of manner, devastating the country and imprisoning God's servants. At the time of laying the foundations of the fort, they tried to throw every obstacle in the way, by firing cannon from their boats, but all without effect.

That expert engineer laid the foundations of one side within the sea, dug a deep ditch round the two sides which faced the land, and built the walls with stones and burnt bricks. The wall was fifteen yards broad and twenty yards high, and the breadth of the ditch was twenty yards. The stones at the four gates were riveted together by iron grapples, and cemented by molten lead. The work of the stone-masons was so exquisitely finished, that every one was astonished at beholding it, and on the bastion which projected into the sea was erected a gallery with windows, which the Portuguese profess to say is an invention of their own. When the Musulmán's began to erect this Chaukandí, § the Feringís exerted

Diogo de Couto says that the stratagem was rendered more effectual by the coincidence of an eclipse of the moon—*Asia*, Dec v Lib v Cap 4. See also Faria-e-Souza, Tom I Part iv Cap 9.

\* Solyman, the Bassa, "a most famous Pyrat, assaulted (in September 1838) Diu, a castle of the Portugals, situate upon the mouth of that great river (Indus), but, in conclusion, after he had many days besieged the castle both by sea and land, and tried the uttermost of his strength, he was so repulsed by the Portugals, that he was glad to forsake the siege, and leaving his great ordnance behind him for haste, returned back again to Aden, a city of great trade in Arabia Felix"—*Turkish History*, Vol I p 451.

† Fenshta, in his reign of Mahmúd Sháh III of Guzerat, says that they were brought from Júnágarh for the defence of Súrat, and this is the most probable, as the ordnance was abandoned at Diu.

‡ The Mirát-i-Ahmedí says there was only one Sulamání gun which the king wished to transfer to Agra, but could not find the means of transport for so heavy a piece—See Bird, *History of Guzerat*, p 322.

§ This is the same chief that we read of in Sidi Ali's journal—See Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, Vol II p 180.

It is quite incomprehensible why this building, whatever it was, should have excited so much rancour on both sides. One might suppose it was rather a battery, than a small palace. Literally, it may be said to mean "a four-cornered room." Briggs calls it a four-storied palace. He translates the passage thus—  
"Within the town is a beautiful building, four stories high, which the Hindus call Chowkunda, and the Europeans compare it to a Por-

every kind of opposition to obstruct it, and when they found they could not prevail by force, they offered large sums of money to prevent its being built, but Khudawand Khán, through the regard which he bore to his own religion, sternly refused, and pushed the work till it was finished, in contemptuous defiance of the Christians

\* \* \* \* \*

In 980 A. H. Husain Mehdi Kásim Khán, Jágirdár of Kút and Gola, had gone off to quell the insurgents of Badáún and Patialí, before he heard of Ibráhím Husain Mirzá's arrival in the neighbourhood of Delhi. In the meantime, Makhdúm-i-Jauk Maulaná Abdulláh Sultánpúrí and Rájá Paliár Mal, who were entrusted with the chief direction of affairs, during the king's absence in Gujrát, wrote to Husain Khán from Fatehpúr to inform him that Ibráhím Husain Mirzá had experienced two defeats, and was then in the vicinity of Delhi, and that as no person of importance was now present to defend the capital, he ought to hasten to Fatehpur without delay.

He accordingly prepared to obey their summons, and was well on his road, having arrived at Udaí, in Jalesar, when he learnt that the Rájá of Awesa (Áwá Mísa?) still continued the depredations which he had practised since the accession of the king, and had carried his ravages even to the very walls of Agra, that, associated with some powerful nobles, he had been engaged in several hard conflicts, and slain many excellent men, and that at that time he was concealed in the jungle of Manza Nauru, in the Perganah of Jalesar.

We had scarcely time to ponder on this intelligence, when all of a sudden, while we were marching on the 15th of Ramazan, the men being not on their guard, and going on in separate parties, most of them, also, being wearied with the protracted annual fast,

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tuguese palace. Finding they could not prevent by force the construction of the fort, the Portuguese offered large sums of money to induce Khoodabunda Khan not to fortify Surat, but their gold was rejected."

This differs much from the original, which runs thus —

"The Portugis said, 'If you will not abstain from building the fort, do not, at any rate, build the Chauhándi after the model of Portugal, and to secure that, we will pay as much money as we offered to prevent your building the fort.' Ghazansar Akai Turk, surnamed Khudawand Khán, replied, "Through the liberality of the Sultan I am in need of nothing, and to show my detestation of you I shall build this kind of Chauhándi and secure for myself the peculiar blessings which attend good works." He then sent for the ordnance and other stores which were called Subhamani on account of the Turks' having abandoned them, and which were then in Junágarh, and placed them in different parts of the fort of Surat and strengthened it."

*History of Gujarat, Mahmud Shah III*

I cannot find mention of the transaction in any European author



an attack was made upon us at mid-day, with matchlocks and arrows. The Rájá of Awesá and his villagers had suspended planks from the boughs of trees, and killed and wounded several of our men from this secure position. At the very commencement of the attack, a ball struck Husain Khán below the knee, and grazed his thigh. He was very nearly fainting and falling from his saddle, but his self-possession enabled him to keep his seat. I threw water on his face, and his immediate attendants, not aware of the accident, at first thought that his fainting had worn him out. I then seized hold of his bridle, for the purpose of carrying him for safety behind a tree, when he opened his eyes, and, contrary to his usual habit, looked sternly at me, and made signs that he was anxious we should dismount and join in the fray, leaving him there to take care of himself.

The contest then raged with fury, and many were killed on both sides. At last, victory inclined towards our party, which was the smallest, and the infidels were put to flight like so many sheep, but not before our sepahís were so tired, that they could scarcely wield a sword. We had all been so jammed together in the forest, that we could with difficulty tell friend from foe. Some of our men had strength of mind and body enough, to deserve the reward, both of engaging in holy war, and of maintaining a strict fast. I, on the contrary, in my weakness, took a cup of water to moisten my throat, for the want of which some poor fellows died. Several excellent friends of mine attained martyrdom in repelling this attack.

After this victory, Husain Khán returned by rapid marches to Kánt and Gola, and strengthened those places. Shortly after, Ibráhím arrived in the Perganah of Lakhnor, fifteen coss from Sambhal.\* As Husain Khán was still suffering from the effects of his wound, he was obliged to be carried on a litter, but nevertheless advanced to Báns Bareillí, in order to force Ibráhím to action, and from Bareillí he made Sambhal in one day by a forced march. Ibráhím, alarmed at this exhibition of confidence and courage, thought it better to decline an action, and retreated by way of Amroha, leaving a distance of seven coss between him and his opponent. Had Husain Khán been compelled to fight, in his then wounded state, God knows what would have happened!

About this time, Sheikh Abú-l-fazl, son of Sheikh Mubárák Nágorí, arrived at Court. In the same year, the lofty buildings and spacious palaces on the road to Ajmír were brought to completion. The reason of their erection was, that as His Majesty looked upon it as a religious duty to go every year to Ajmír,

\* Sambhal was the paternal estate of Ibráhím Husain Mirzá Gulrukh Begam, his wife, was a daughter of Kámran Mirza, and, consequently, Akber's first cousin

he constructed a building at each stage on the road to that place, and at every cross he erected a pillar and dug a well. On every pillar he fixed, at small intervals from one another, the horns of the antelopes which he had slaughtered during his career. The horns amounted to several hundreds of thousands, and they were placed there as a memorial throughout the world. The date is represented by the words, "Horn-league," 1 c 981.

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### *Building of the fort of Piág.*

On the 23rd of Safar A H 982, His Majesty arrived at Piág (Prayága) which is commonly called Ilhábás, where the waters of the Ganges and Jumna unite. The infidels consider this a holy place, and with the object of obtaining the rewards which are promised in their creed, of which transmigration is one of the most prominent features, they submit themselves to all kinds of punishments and penances. Some place their heads and feet under saws, others split their tongues in two, others enter hell by casting themselves down into the deep river from the top of a high tree †

His Majesty laid the foundations of the imperial city, which he called Ilhabás, and on the 2nd of Rabi' u-s-sání, he ordered the Prince's boats to proceed to Jaunpúr, from Bijnápúr, at the confluence of the Gomati and Ganges, embarking upon them the ladies of the household, the judges, and magistrates.

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Abú-l-fazl's second introduction to Akber*

In 982 A H Abú-l-fazl, whom people choose to call *Allamí*, or a very learned man, one who, at least, managed to set the world in flames, \* \* \* came a second time to Court \* \* \*. Between him and me there was a mutual aversion, on the following account. At the time of the persecution and massacre of the Shíás, Mír Habshí and others unanimously represented that Sheikh Mubárák Nágóri, his father, was a Shia, and that he led people astray by his heretical preaching. Some messengers were despatched to bring him to Court, but as the Sheikh had absconded

\* The pillar which is in the best state of preservation, is to be seen at Fatehpur Sikri, where the garrulous Cicero gives a very different account of its origin. It is called the *huran minar*, or "pillar of the antelope."

† See above, p. 35. Here is still further testimony to this tree's being in the open air, at the point of the confluence, to a very late period. It is the celebrated Akhu Bar or immortal fig-tree. See Wilson, *Specimens of Hindu Theatricals*, Vol. I p. 302.

with his sons, they broke the pulpit of his mosque. He then sought the protection of the shrine of Selím Chishtí in Fatehpúr. Sheikhu-l-Islám, the superintendent, sent him something for his expenses by the way, and recommended him to leave the country, and fly to Gujrát. As he obtained nothing by going to Fatehpúr, he went to Mirzá Azíz Koká, who represented to the king, that Sheikh Mubárák was a good and pious man, that he held no land in In'ám, and enquired what was the advantage of persecuting him. This saved the Sheikh further trouble, and a revolution in his fortune shortly took place. Sheikh Abú-l-fazl ingratiated himself with His Majesty by his unremitting devotion to the king's service, by his temporising disposition, which could reconcile him even to the commission of falsehood to serve his own interests, by his study of the king's temper and sentiments, and by his boundless flattery. When he at last obtained the opportunity, he took his revenge upon the sect which had injured him, by adopting every kind of vile expedient to reduce them to disgrace and infamy. He was the cause not only of the destruction of the men who formerly persecuted his family, but of the grievous disasters which fell upon all God's wise and holy servants, upon the infirm and upon orphans, by the resumption of their allowances in money and rent-free lands \* \* \*. When opposition and remonstrance began to be raised against these harsh proceedings, he used ironically to quote this quatrain, in allusion to his enemies having brought their misfortunes upon their own heads —

"I have set fire to my barn with my own hands,  
As I am the incendiary, how can I complain of my enemy?  
No one is my enemy but myself,  
Woe is me! I have torn my garment with my own hands."

If any one, at any time, represented that his conduct was opposed to the precept of some learned or religious man, he would say in reply, that the precept quoted was the composition of such and such a grocer, such and such a cobbler, such and such a currier, for he thought proper to reject all the wise sayings of Mohammedan Sheikhs and Doctors

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Prohibition against Pilgrimages.*

One night, during the year 982, Khán Jehán mentioned that Makhdúmu-l-mulk Abdullah Sultánpurí had decided that it was not proper to go on a pilgrimage, and that it was even sinful to do so. When he was asked his reasons, he replied, that there were only two ways to Mecca, one by Irák, the other by Gujrát. By the former, a man would incur the chance of hearing abusive language from the Kazilbáshes, by the latter, he must, before he embarks at sea, suffer the indignity of entering into an engage-

ment with the Feringis, which engagement was headed and stamped with portraits of the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ \* So that both ways should be prohibited

Another edict of Makhdûmu-l-mulk's, which was ridiculed in this assembly, was the prohibition of ahns-taking, under the pretence that the surplus of his treasury used to be bestowed at the close of the year upon his wives, yet it was asserted that he took good care to recover it again from them before the year came round. It was said that he adduced some other reasons, of which even the Israelites would have been ashamed, but which in reality, according to these Doctors, all resolved themselves into his avarice, perfidy, fraud, vice, and oppression, all which vices were exhibited towards holy men and fakirs, especially those of the Panjûb. They reported also many other stories to his disparagement, ascribing them to his villainy, his sordid disposition, his contemptible conduct, and ended by deciding that he ought to be shipped off by force to Mecca \* \* \* About this time, Makhdûmu-l-mulk began to fall into discredit, and Sheikh Abdu-n-nabî† succeeded him in the good graces of the king, in which he managed to maintain himself, until his real ignorance was betrayed \* \* \*

\* Maffei mentions a toll, and Osorius tells us that the Portuguese allowed no one to sail without one of their passports. Faria-e-Souza says that these passports were not unfrequently mere "letters of Bellerophon," to the effect that "The owner of this ship is a very wicked Moor, I desire that the first Portuguese captain to whom this is shown, may make a prize of her" — See Rowlandson, *Tohfat-ul-Mujahideen*, pp. 90, 104

† An account of each of these ecclesiastical judges is given among the Biographies of learned men at the end of the work. That of Abdu-n-nabî will be found among these Extracts

Respecting Makhdûmu-l-mulk, an intelligent author, who has written on the subject of Akber's defections from the path of the Muhammedan religion, observes —

"A learned and pious writer, Makhdûmu-l-mulk, published about this time a tract injurious to Sheikh Abdû-n-nabî. He accused that teacher of having been wrongfully instrumental to the deaths of Khizr Khân Shirwani, who had been condemned for reviling the Prophet and Ali Habbsh, who had been charged with heresy. He added also, that the Sheikh was unworthy to mount the pulpit, both because he was subject to a bodily infirmity, and because he had been disavowed by his own father for his perverse and unbecoming conduct when a youth. To these attacks Sheikh Abdû-n-nabî replied by calling Makhdûmu-l-mulk, a heretic and a fool. Opinions were divided, some of the religious men sided with one, and some with another. The dispute ran high, and a complete schism ensued. The enemies of Islam took this opportunity to augment the king's disgust and dissatisfaction, and those impressions becoming progressively more intense he lost in the course of five or six years every particle of his original belief." *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, Vol. I. p. 51

This year, the king gave orders that the rent-free land throughout his dominions, whether in the shape of Ayma, Madad-m'ash, Wakf or Pensions, should not be considered valid, and that the revenue-officers should not exclude them from the rent roll, until the Sadar had registered and signed the grants. The consequence was, that the people whose rights were assailed flocked from the farthest east, even to Bhakhar in the west, to represent their grievances. Whoever could manage to procure letters of recommendation from the nobles and people at Court, secured his wishes, and whoever could not obtain a similar introduction, had to give large bribes to Sayyid Abu-r-rasul, and all the subordinates of the Sheikh, even to the farishes, door-keepers, grooms and sweepers, and by these means contrived at last to "save his blanket from the whirlpool." He who could not succeed in procuring either of these passports, was well thrashed by the staves of the attendants, besides which, many perished from the effect of the hot air in that immense crowd. Although the king knew all these particulars, yet such was his regard for the Sadar, that he could not be persuaded to remonstrate against his proceedings. Whenever the Sadar sat upon his tribunal in the *Díwán-khána*, and held public audience, the nobles would, now and then, taking forward some learned and respectable man, represent his case for consideration. But he used to receive them with little respect, and after much entreaty and importunity, some able man, who could explain the *Hidaya* or any equally abstruse book, would get a paltry 100 Bighas, more or less, restored to him, and the rest, of which he might have been in possession for many years, would be resumed. But the ordinary run of ignorant and blear-eyed fellows, even down to Hindús, would get as much land as they asked for, without question. From these proceedings we may judge of his regard for learning and its professors, and how much its value declined in estimation every day. Even in the middle of the assemblage, while seated "aloft in awful state," if the time for midday prayers came, he would wash his hands, and care not how much water he sprinkled on the faces and clothes of the surrounding nobles. They meekly submitted to the indignity, because they knew it was to the advantage of their clients, and would bestow upon the Sadar every kind of eulogium, compliment, and flattery, to his heart's content, in the hope by this means to secure at last some compensation for the insult. In the time of no former king had any Sadar such extensive powers and jurisdiction.

About this time, the king appointed me a preacher, and directed me also to undertake the office of marking the royal horses with a stamp. I had no fixed salary, but I was told to content myself for the present with this inferior occupation. Sheikh Abú-l-fazl, arrived at court about the same time, and received the same appointment, so that we are loaves out of the same oven. Yet he

managed by his intelligence and time-serving qualities to raise himself to a Mansab of 2000, while poor I, from my inexperience and folly, could not manage to advance myself. I reflected within myself that there were still hopes of securing contentment, that best of possessions! by means of a Madad-m'úsh, which would enable me to retire from the world, and devote myself to study, while free from the cares of the world. But even in this I was doomed to be disappointed.

In the month of Shawwál 983, on my applying for leave of absence, it was refused, but I received a horse with suitable trappings and a Madad-m'úsh of 1000 Bighas, which was a mere nothing, but was equal to my poor maintenance, and in accordance with the unfriendly disposition of the Sadar and my unlucky fate. I represented that with this small tenure I could not afford to be constantly in attendance at Court, to which the king replied, that he would give me presents also during the marches. Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí too observed, that no person of my quality had received from him so large a quantity of land. As for the presents which I was promised, though twenty-two years have elapsed since my hopes were raised, I have received them but once or twice, and the rest have been concealed behind the veil of night. I continue like a tree stripped of leaves, and these fine promises prove a baseless mirage. I have had to perform services without reward, and to undergo restraints, from which I can now be relieved only by the goodness of God.

\* \* \* \* \*

In A. H. 985, the king, after visiting the shrines of the holy saints in the neighbourhood of Dehli, went towards Palam on a shooting excursion. At the close of the blessed month Ramazán, news reached me at Rewárá, that at Basáwar\* a son had been born to me, for which happiness I had been a long time in expectation. On this occasion, I presented an offering of a gold mohur to the king, and requested he would be good enough to name the child. After reading a prayer, he enquired the name of my father and grandfather. I replied, "Malúk Sháh was my father, and he was the son of Jáh." He said, "I call your son Abdu-l-hadí,"—a name which at that time he had, night and day, upon his lips. Notwithstanding that Háfiz Muhammed Amín, the preacher, was constantly urging me not to commit this absurdity, and to invite some learned men to my house to read the whole Kurán, in order to secure a long life to my son, he could not prevail, and at the end of six months my son died.

\* This place, which is so frequently mentioned in the course of this history, is within the territory of Bharatpúr, on the road from Agra to Jajpúr. It is situated on the side of a rocky eminence, with a ruinous palace on its summit. Heber calls it Peshawar. See *Narrative of a Journey*, Vol. II p. 353.

May God be pleased on his account to pardon me in the day of judgment'

From Rewárí I took five months' leave, and went to Basáwar but on account of sundry affairs of consequence, I unavoidably extended my absence to the period of a year. This unwarranted neglect of duty made me fall in the king's estimation, and by degrees I was comparatively forgotten. To this day even, although eighteen years have since elapsed, I still perform my duty, but am not honored with an interview, and I can neither go in search of other employ, nor maintain a firm footing in my present position.

\* \* \* \* \*

Kází Alí Baghdádí, grandson of Mír Kází Husáin Mashedí, was deputed to the Panjáb to make inquiries respecting the lands held in rent-free tenure, under the name of Madad-m'ásh and Ayma. He was directed to resume the old detached tenures, and to include the new grants in one circuit. The grossest frauds had been perpetrated in this department, which were all to be attributed to the dishonesty of Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí and his subordinates.

Shortly after, the king returned towards Fatehpúr and reached Khizrábád Sádhaúra on the 3rd of Jamádín-s-sání, A. H. 986. He there embarked on a boat accompanied by the nobles of the state, but the establishments and camp-followers marched by land to Dáhlí, at which place his Majesty arrived on the 29th of the same month.

\* \* \* \* \*

In A. H. 986, the missionaries of Europe, who are called Pádrís, and whose chief Pontiff, called Pápá (Pope), promulgates his interpretations for the use of the people, and who issues mandates that even kings dare not disobey, brought their gospel to the king's notice, advanced proofs of the Trinity, and spread abroad the knowledge of the religion of Jesus. The king ordered Prince Murád to learn a few lessons from the gospel, and to treat it with all due respect, and Sheikh Abú-l-fazl was directed to translate it. Instead of the inceptive "Bismillah" the following ejaculation was enjoined: "In nomine Jesu Christi,"\* that is, "Oh! thou whose name is merciful and bountiful." Sheikh Fazl added to this, "Praise be to God! there is no one like thee—thou art he!" The attributes of the abhorred Anti-Christ were ascribed to our holy prophet by these lying imposters.

\* The original has in Persian می نامی, which can scarcely be said to bear any meaning. Besides the translation, vile as it is, shows that a foreign language must have been dealt with. It is no difficult to make "in nomine" out of the two Persian words.

### *Worship of the Sun*

The accursed Bir Bal\* tried to persuade the king, that since the sun gives light to all, and ripens all fruits and products of the earth, that luminary should be the object of his worship and veneration, that the face should be turned towards the rising, not toward the setting, sun, that he should venerate fire, water, stones and trees, and all natural objects, even down to cow-dung, that he should adopt the frontal mark and the Bráhmínical cord. Several wise men confirmed what he said, by representing that the sun was the chief light of the world, and the benefactor of its inhabitants, that it was a friend to kings, and that kings established periods and eras in conformity with its motions. This was the cause of the worship paid to the sun on the Nau-roz Jalálí, and of his being induced to adopt that festival for the celebration of his accession to the throne, and to put on clothes of that particular colour, which is sacred to the regent-planet of the day, on which the new year might happen to commence † He began also, at midnight and at early dawn, to mutter the spells, which the Hindús taught him, for the purpose of subduing the sun to his wishes. He prohibited the slaughter of cows, because the Hindus devoutly worship them, esteeming their dung as pure, considering that the eating of their flesh is unlawful, and sacrificing men instead of them. The reason was also assigned, that physicians have represented their flesh to be productive of sundry kinds of sickness, and to be difficult of digestion.

### *Abú-l-fazl appointed superintendent of fire-temples*

Fire-worshippers also came from Nausári in Gujrát, proclaimed the religion of Zerdusht as the true one, and declared reverence to the sun to be superior to every other kind of worship. They also attracted the king's regard, and taught him the peculiar terms, the ordinances, the rites and ceremonies of the Karámans, and at last he directed that the sacred fire should be made over to

\* This is the epithet by which he is usually characterized by this bitter enemy. Respecting his death in the Yusufzei country, he says, "Bir Bal fled for fear of his life and being slain, was included amongst the dogs of hell, and met with punishment, slight when compared with his evil deserts. Akber regretted his loss more than that of any other of his chiefs exclaiming, why did they not, at least rescue his body, that it might have been burnt? Afterwards, he derived consolation from reflecting, that as Bir Bal was pure and undeviled, the rays of the grand luminary were sufficient for his funeral pyre."

† This passage may be interpreted in another way — that for seven days he wore every day a new dress of the colour sacred to one of the seven planets.



the charge of Abú-l-fazl, and that after the manner of the kings of Persia, in whose temples blazed perpetual fires, he should take care it was never extinguished either by night or day,—for that it is one of the signs of God, and one light from among the many lights of his creation

From his earliest youth, in compliment to his wives, the daughters of the Rajás of Hind, he had within the female apartments continued to burn the *hom*, which is a ceremony derived from fire-worship, but on the new-year festival of the 25th year after his accession, he prostrated himself before the fire in public, and in the evening the whole Court rose up respectfully, when the lamps and candles were lighted

On the eighth day after the sun's entering Virgo in this year, he came forth to the public audience-chamber with his forehead marked like a Hindú, and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrist by Bráhmuns, by way of a blessing The chiefs and nobles adopted the same practice in imitation of him, and presented on that day pearls and precious stones, suitable to their respective wealth and station It became the current custom also to wear the Rákhí on the wrist, which means an amulet formed out of twisted linen rags In defiance and contempt of the true faith, every precept which was enjoined by the doctors of other religions, he treated as a revelation Those of Islám, on the contrary, were esteemed follies, innovations, inventions of indigent beggars, of rebels, and of highway robbers, and those who professed that religion were set down as contemptible idiots These sentiments had been long growing up in his mind, and ripened gradually into a firm conviction of their truth

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Account of an organ*

In A. H 988, Háji Habíb-ullah exhibited an organ, which he had brought from Europe, and which was certainly one of the wonders of the world It was like a large box, and the size of a man A Feringí sat inside, and struck the wires with the end of a peacock's feather,\* producing all kinds of sounds, and although the box was closely watched, yet Feringís, some of a red, some of a yellow colour, kept coming out of it and retiring within it The people who witnessed this marvel were thunderstruck, and to describe and belaud it as it deserves, would be impossible

\* \* \* \* \*

\* The original of this clause is very doubtful, and the meaning is rendered conjecturally

*Translation of the Mahábhárat*

One night during the year 990, the king sent for me, and desired me to translate the Mahábhárat, in conjunction with Nakíb Khan. The consequence was that in four months I translated two out of the eighteen sections, at the puerile absurdities of which, the eighteen thousand creations may well be confounded. Fancy such injunctions, as how you are to sit, what to eat, and a prohibition against turnips! But such is my fate, to be employed on such works. Nevertheless, I console myself with the reflection, that what is predestined must come to pass!

After this, Mullá Shabrí and Nakíb Khán together accomplished a portion, and another was completed by Sultán Hájí Thanesarí by himself. The Sheikh (Faizí) was then directed to convert the rough translation into elegant prose and verse, but he did not complete more than two sections. The Hájí having committed errors in his first translation, was ordered to revise it, under the injunction that he was to leave out nothing of consequence, and he had revised an hundred sheets, when the order was received for his dismissal, and he was sent to Bhakar. He now resides in his native city of Thanesar. Most of the scholars who were employed upon this translation are now said to be likely to accompany the Kauravas and Pandavas in the day of resurrection. May the rest, for their sincere penitence, be spared, by the mercy of God!

The translation was called Razmúnáma, and when fairly engrossed and embellished with pictures, the nobles had orders to take copies, and thus secure themselves a blessing. Sheikh Abú-l-fazl, who had already written against our religion, wrote the Preface, extending to two sheets. God defend me from his infidelities and absurdities!

\* \* \* \* \*

In A. H. 991, the king erected two buildings outside the city where he might feed fakírs, both Musulman and Hindú, one he called Khairpúra, the other Dharmpúra. Some of Abú-l-fazl's people had the charge, and used to spend the king's money in procuring food. As the Jogís also used to flock there in great numbers, a separate receiving-house was built for them, and called Jogípúra. Nightly meetings were held in private with some of these men, and they used to employ themselves in various follies and extravagancies, in contemplations, gestures, addresses, abstractions and reveries, and in alchemy, fascination and magic. The king himself was an adept in alchemy, and used to exhibit the gold which he made. One night in the year, called Shuv-rát, was appointed for a grand assembly of Jogis from all parts of the country, on which occasion he would eat and drink with them promiscuously.

\* \* \* \* \*

## GENERAL HISTORIES

In A H 994, the king held the festival of the anniversary of his coronation, according to the practice established in olden time, during which, every one had free access to the shops having nothing to pay, and the king himself received the usual presents from the nobles and others, so that even food, scents, and the profits of dancers and fiddlers were carried away into the treasury. From a Mansabdar of 5000 to a humble footman, all had to present offerings; and even I, this powerless atom, who was held in no account at all, except that I used to be styled Hazárl, from holding one thousand Bighas rent-free, and was accustomed to liken myself to the old woman in the story of Joseph (God's blessing on him'), had to present my forty Rupees, which received the honor of being accepted. I do not like my position, and should be glad to be in any other.

During this festival the king's eldest son received a Mansab of 12,000, the second, one of 9000; and the third, one of 7000.

In A H 996, the king called to mind something about the book which I was then translating, and directed Hakím Abú-l-fateh to give me a horse, a shawl, and some other presents, and pointing me out to Sháh Fateh-ullah Uzdu-d-daulah, who was invested with the charge of the Ayma lands, he observed that I was an inhabitant of Badáún, and that as the Sháh had found a flaw in the title of my Madad-m'ash land in Basáwar, his Majesty had conferred upon me some in Badáún, in lieu of it. Sháh Fateh-ullah then presented in a bag an offering of 1000 Rupees, which, by exactions and other most oppressive means, his agents had recovered from the wretched widows and orphans of Basáwar, and upon his representing that his officers had collected this surplus from the Ayma lands fraudulently alienated from the public rent-roll, the king told him to retain the money for himself. Three months after this, the Sháh died, and when my Firmán was engrossed, I took leave for a year, went first to Basáwar, and then to Badáún, from which place I wished to make a journey to Gujrát, to see Mirzá Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed, but delays occurred to prevent my carrying this intention into effect.

In A H 996, the son of the Rájá of Kamáún arrived at Lahore from the Sewálk hills, for the purpose of paying his respects. Neither he, nor his ancestors (the curse of God on them!) could ever have expected to speak face to face with an Emperor. He brought several rare presents, and amongst them a Tibet cow, and a musk-deer, which latter died on the road from the effect of the heat. I saw it with my own eyes, and it had the appearance of a fox. Two small tusks projected from the mouth, and, instead of horns, it had a slight elevation, or bump. As the hind-quarters of the animal were enveloped in a cloth, I could not examine the whole body. They said that there were men in those hills, all

hany, and men who fly with wings, and they pointed out a tree which yields fruit all the year round. God knows whether all this is true!

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí*

Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí, Sadaru-s-sadúr, was son of Sheikh Ahmed son of Sheikh Abdu-l-kndús, of Gangohí. He went several times to Mecca and Medina \* \* \*. He put on the appearance of great piety. When he was appointed to the Sadúrat, he distributed among the people an immense quantity of Madad-m'ásh, Wakf, and Pensions. No Sadar during any former reign had so much power, and no one gave away one-tenth of the Wakf which he did \*. The king was for some time so intimate and unceremonious with him, that he would rise to adjust the Sheikh's slippers when he took his leave. At last, through the enmity of Makhdúmu-l-mulk and some other ill-disposed and deceitful doctors, he fell in the king's estimation, and began to be treated very differently. The chief reason of the change was this —

At the time that the king arrived at Fatehpúr from Bauswára, Kází Abdu-r-rahím, of Muttra, complained to the Sheikh that a rich Brahmin had taken all the materials, which he had collected for the building of a mosque, and applied them to his own purposes in building a temple for an idol, and that when he remonstrated with him, the Brahmin, in the presence of a multitude of

\* It is quite impossible to reconcile this eulogy with the trunning and acrimonious tone adopted at p. 246, nor does any conceivable variety in the reading of the two texts admit of any essential difference of sentiment, unless indeed, we consider that the grasping Sadar was Makhdúmu-l-mulk, and not Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí, which appears opposed to the whole tenor of the text, and especially to Abdu-n-nabí's declaration at the close of the extract. It is scarcely permitted us to imagine that so grave an author might possibly be indulging in a little playful irony.

The duties and responsibilities of the Sadar resembled those of a Chancellor, or an Ecclesiastical Registrar, the chief difference being, that when the Sadar, as we have seen to be frequently the case, plundered the property of helpless widows and orphans, he was fayed alive, or trodden to death by elephants. As such punishments would be esteemed barbarous in modern times, and as our tortuous system of law generally delights to exercise its sophistries and subtleties in behalf of notorious criminals, there can be little doubt that, if any Sadar were in these days to prostitute the sacred obligations of his office to such infernal purposes, he would escape with impunity — at least upon earth.

Committunt eadem diverso crimina fato  
Ille crucem pretium scelus tulit, hic diadema

people (may his mouth be crammed with mud !) applied foul and abusive language to the Prophet (the peace of God rest with him !) and grossly reviled all Musulmáns. When the Bráhmín was summoned before the Sheikh, he refused to come, so Sheikh Abú-l-fazl was sent to bring him. Sheikh Abú-l-fazl on his return represented what he had heard from the people of Muttra,—namely, that the Bráhmín certainly had used foul language. Upon this, the learned in the law decided, some of them for death, some for public exposure and fine. They were consequently divided into two parties, and held many disputations on the subject. Although the Sheikh went to ask for leave to punish him capitally, the king would give no distinct reply, but said vaguely, that the Sheikh was himself responsible for carrying into execution the sentence of the law, and enquired why he consulted him. During this long suspense the Bráhmín continued in prison, and notwithstanding that the ladies of the royal household used their exertions to get him released, yet, out of regard to the Sheikh, the king would not give his consent.

The Sheikh continued to importune the king for a reply, but all he could get was, that he had already passed his orders, and the Sheikh knew what they were. When the Sheikh returned to his home, he immediately issued orders for the Bráhmín's death. When the king learnt this, he was very angry. The ladies within, and the Hindús without, the palace, exclaimed, "Is this the faithless man whom you have promoted and favored, and has he reached to such a pitch of insolence as not to regard your wishes, and to put an innocent man to death, for the mere purpose of displaying his power and authority?" They continued to pour such-like complaints into the ears of the king, so that he could no longer restrain his indignation \* \* \*. One night, at Anúp-táláo, a conclave of divines assembled, from whom he enquired their opinions on the subject \* \*. The king at last singled me out, and said, "When ninety and nine opinions are in favor of one course of proceeding, and a hundredth in favor of another, do you think it right that the Muftís should act upon the latter. What is your opinion?" I replied, that it was a legal maxim that punishment should not be inflicted where there was any doubt. The king was sorrowful, and said, "Was not Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí aware of this maxim, that he killed that unfortunate Bráhmín?" I replied, that the Sheikh was certainly a wise man, and that he no doubt had acted in direct contravention of the law, but that he might possibly have adopted that course, to restrain turbulence, and to strike at the root of the people's insolence \* \* \*.

The king's agitation was so great that his hair stood on end, like that of a lion, and some people behind me whispered that I should not carry the controversy any further. All of a sudden, he exclaimed in anger, "You are not at all right." Upon which

I made a low bow, and retired to a little distance From that day I have abandoned my presumptuous and controversial manner, and take my place apart from the groups which surround the throne It is only now and then that I venture to advance, and make my obeisance at a respectful distance

It was on this account that Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí's prosperity declined \* \* \* He died in the year 991

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Sheikh Faizi*

He is commonly called the "chief of Poets," but he was in fact a mere Poetaster He excelled in the minor arts of versification, enigmatic lines and rhyming In history, in philology, in medicine, in letter-writing, and in composition, he was without a rival His earlier compositions in verse bear his titular name of Faizi, which he subsequently dignified into Faizí, in order that it might correspond with the grammatical amplification of Allamí, by which his younger brother, Abú-l-fazl, was known, but the change was ill-omened, for he survived to enjoy his last title only one or two months, and then met his death with great alarm and inquietude

He was an idle and vain talker, a hypocrite, and a haughty, malicious, dishonest, envious, perfidious, and ambitious man He reviled the three first Khálifas and disciples, the ancestors and descendants of the Prophet, the wise and the excellent, the pious and the saintly, and, in short all Musulmans in general, and ridiculed the principles of their faith, privately and publicly, by night and by day His conduct was so abominable, that even Jews, Christians, Hindús, Sabians and Guebres are considered a thousand times less odious He acted entirely against the tenets of the Muhammedan religion What was forbidden in that, was lawful to him, and vice versâ

He composed a Commentary upon the Kur'án, consisting entirely of letters without diacritical points, in order to obliterate the spots of his infamy, but the waters of a hundred oceans will never cleanse the stain he has contracted, until the day of judgment He composed it in the very height of his perfidy and drunkenness, and dogs were allowed to tread on every letter of it In the same spirit of pride, stubbornness, and infidelity, he met his final doom, and in a manner which I trust no one may again see, or hear of, for when the king paid him a visit on his death-bed, he barked at his face like a dog, as the king himself acknowledged in public, his whole face was swollen, and his lips appeared black, as if soiled with dentifrice, inasmuch that the king observed to Abú-l-fazl, "surely the Sheikh has been rubbing dentifrice on his teeth, according to the Indian fashion" "No" replied Abu-l-fazl, "it is the stain of the clot-

ted blood which he has been spitting"\* In truth, even this scene was but a small retribution for the blasphemies of which he had been guilty, and for the contumelies which he had uttered against the Prophet, the last of the apostles, (the peace of God be upon him, and all his family') Several abusive chronograms were written on the occasion, of which the following are only a few \* \* \* \*

He had composed poetry for forty years, correct enough in point of versification and language, but utterly destitute of beauty, either in sentiment or religion † He has joined the dry bones together pretty well, but the skeleton has no brains The condiments of verse are sufficiently abundant, but quite tasteless, \* \* \* as is proved by no one remembering his lines, although the very vilest poets meet with some quoters and admirers Nevertheless, he wrote, what with *Díwáns* and *Masnavís*, more than twenty thousand lines, and, notwithstanding that he expended the rich revenues of his *jágir* upon their transcription, and in sending copies to his friends, far and near, not one of them ever read his poems twice The following verses of his own selection were given by him to *Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed* as a memento. \* \* \* \* \* Pray, tell me what beauty is there in them!

At the time that *Sheikh Faizí* was proceeding to take charge of his office of the deputyship of the Deccan, I wrote him two letters from the foot of the *Cashmír* hills, and informed him of the cause of the king's displeasure and his refusal to allow me to pay my respects Upon this he wrote to the king a letter of recommendation, which was couched in the following words, and despatched it, on the tenth of *Jamádíu-l-awwal* A H 1000, from *Ahmednagar* to *Lahore*, and orders were given to *Abú-l-fazl* to place it among the records of the reign.—

"May it please your Majesty! Two friends of *Mullá Abdu-l-Kádir* have arrived from *Badáún* in great distress and sorrow, representing that the *Mullá* has been for some time ill, and that in consequence of his failing to perform the promise which he made respecting his return, the servants of the government have treated him with great severity, and that there is no knowing what the result of it may be They enquired also if the prolonged illness of the *Mullá* was unknown to your Majesty

"Healer of the broken-hearted! *Mullá Abdu-l-Kádir* is a very able man, and is well acquainted with all the sciences usually cultivated by the *Mullás* of *Hindústán*, and he was also a pupil of my

\* At the close of the historical narrative, the author tells us that *Faizí* had been spitting blood for six months before his death, and that his barking like a dog was the consequence of his making those animals his constant companions night and day, to insult the *Musulmáns*, to whom they are an abomination

† This is by no means the general estimate of his poetry, which is greatly admired in India, even to this day

father's Your slave has been acquainted with him for nearly thirty-seven years Besides being a person of deep learning, he is a poet, and composes elegantly in Arabic and Persian He is not a mere imitator, but an original thinker He also knows a little of Hindú Astrology and accounts, and is not at a loss in any field of knowledge He is acquainted with foreign, as well as with native, music, and can play at both the small and big games of chess, moreover, he writes a pretty good hand Notwithstanding that he possesses all these accomplishments, he is content and entirely divested of avarice, of equable temperament, and a person of excellent morals and manners, but poor, and with no fixed income He is sincere and warm-hearted, and has every confidence in your Majesty's kindness

"At the time that the army was before Kumbalmír, he volunteered to join it There he did the state good service, and received a donation for his wounds Jalál Khán Korehí, when he first introduced him at Court, said, 'I have brought a preacher to present to your Majesty,' at which your Majesty was gratified Mir Fatch-ullah also represented something respecting the Mulla's circumstances, and my worthy brother, Abú-l-fazl, also knows him well But according to the proverb, 'A gram of good luck is better than a sack full of skill'

"As the Court is the abode of the virtuous, I have taken the liberty to bring this destitute person to notice, and to place him before the foot of the throne, as if I was myself present Did I not advocate his claims at this time, I should consider myself guilty of an offence against the cause of truth and justice

"May God, the omnipotent, place the slaves of the Court under the heavenly shadow of your royal Majesty ' and may he mercifully make their feet firm in pursuing the path of rectitude, and justice, and in acquiring the knowledge of truth ' May he preserve your Majesty as the protector and nourisher of the helpless, the bestower of mercy, the pardoner of errors, throughout the world and all worlds, and bless you with thousands upon thousands of sources of wealth, abundance, grandeur and felicity, upon earth and in heaven ' I implore all this for the sake of the pure spirits who surround the throne of grace, and the saints upon earth who join in the maternal chorus of prayer Amen, Amen, Amen "

Should any one, upon perusing this, observe, that Sheikh Faizí's regard and affection for me, which is evidenced by this letter, is but ill requited by the harshness and severity with which I have spoken of him, especially after his death, when the precept of "speak not ill of the dead" should be strictly observed, I have only to reply, that the observation is perfectly just, but under the circumstances, I enquire, what could I do ' seeing that the truth of religion and the maintenance of one's faith are paramount to all other obligations, and that the maxim I never deviate from is, that my love and hatred should be subservient to



God's cause Although I was Sheikh Faizí's companion for forty years, nevertheless, after he apostatized from his religion, changed his manners, and entered on vain controversies, I became gradually estranged from him, and, especially after what occurred at his death, I hold myself no longer his friend When we are all summoned before the throne of God, we shall receive sentence according to our deserts'

Sheikh Faizí left a library of four thousand six hundred volumes, some of them exquisitely copied with, what may be said to be, even unnecessary care and expense Most of them were autographs of the respective authors, or at least copied by their contemporaries They were all transferred to the king's library, after being catalogued and numbered in three different sections The first included Poetry, Medicine, Astrology, and Music, the second, Philosophy, Súfism, Astronomy, and Geometry, and the third, or lowest, grade, included Commentaries, Traditions, Theology, and Law There were also one hundred and one different copies of his poem, "Nal-Daman"

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The Táríkh-i-Badáúní is one of the commonest histories to be met with in India One of the best copies is in the Asiatic Society's Library. Other good ones are to be found in Banda, Lakhnau, Kole, and Patna.

Seven copies concur in giving the following as the initial verses, with the exception of a variety in the first word of the second line:—

ای یافته نامها را نام تو رواج شاهان بدست چو ما بدیسان محتاج  
حائیکه رسید صدمه عبرت تو نی پای بکفش مامد و بی فرق بنج

The work concludes with a date.—

شکر لله که با تمام رسید منتخب ار کرم ربانی  
سال تاریخ ردل جستم گفت انتخابی که ندان ثانی  
والحمد لله علی تویق الاتمام و صلوة والسلام علی خیر الانام

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## NOTE G

*On the knowledge of Sanscrit by Muhammedans.*

It is a common error to suppose that Faizí (v p 221) was the first\* Muhammedan who mastered the difficulties of the Sanscrit,—that language, “of wonderful structure, more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either ”

Akber's freedom from religious bigotry, his ardent desire for the cultivation of knowledge, and his encouragement of every kind of learning, and especially his regard for his Hindú subjects, imparted a stimulus to the cultivation of Indian literature, such as had never prevailed under any of his predecessors. Hence, besides Faizí, we have amongst the Sanscrit translators of his reign Abdu-l-Kádír, Nakíb Khán, Mullá Sháh Muhammed, Mullá Shabrí, Sultán Hájí, Hájí Ibráhím and others

In some instances it may admit of doubt, whether the translations may not have been made from versions previously done into Hindí, oral or written. The word Hindí is ambiguous when used by a Muhammedan of that period. Nízámu-d-dín Ahmed, for instance, says that Abdu-l-Kádír translated several works from the

\* Elphinstone's *History of India*, Vol. II p 231 *Biographical Dictionary*, L U K Vol I p 523

*Hindí*. Now, we know that he translated, amongst other works, the *Rámáyana* and the *Singhásan Batísí*. It is much more probable that these were in the original Sanscrit, than in *Hindí*. Abdu-l-Kádir and Ferishta tell us that the *Mahábhárata* was translated into Persian from the *Hindí*, the former\* ascribing the work chiefly to Nakíb Khán, the latter to Faizí. Here again there is every probability of the Sanscrit being meant. In another instance, Abdu-l-Kádir tells us that he was called upon to translate the *Atharvana Veda* from the *Hindí*, which he excused himself from doing, on account of the exceeding difficulty of the style and abstruseness of meaning, upon which the task devolved upon Hájí Ibráhím Sirhindí, who accomplished it satisfactorily. Here it is evident that nothing but Sanscrit could have been meant.

But though the knowledge of Sanscrit appears to have been more generally diffused at this time, it was by no means the first occasion that Muhammedans had become acquainted with that language. Even if we allow that they obtained the abridgment of the *Pancha Tantra*, under the name of fables of *Bidpai*, or *Hitopadesa*, through the medium of the *Pehlivi*,† there are other facts which make it equally certain that the Muhammedans had attained

\* His account, which will be seen at p. 251, is very confused, and it is not easy to gather from it what share each of the coadjutors had in the translation. The same names are given in the *Ayín-i-Akberí*.

† See *Mémoire* prefixed to S. de Sacy's Edition of *Cahilah wa Dimnah*, Paris, 1816. See also *Biographie Universelle*, Tom. XXI. p. 471.

a correct knowledge of the Sanscrit not long after the establishment of their religion; even admitting, as was probably the case, that most of the Arabic translations were made by Indian foreigners resident at Baghdád

In the Khalífate of Al-Mámún, the Augustan age of Arabian literature, the treatise\* of Muhammed bin Músa on Algebra, which was translated by Dr. Rosen in 1831, and the medical treatises of Mikah and Ibn Dahan, who are represented to be Indians,† show that Sanscrit must have been well known at that time; and even before that, the compilations of Charaka and Susruta‡ had been translated, and had diffused a general knowledge of Indian medicine amongst the Arabs. From the very first, we find them paying particular attention to this branch of science, and encouraging the profession of it so much, that two Indians, of the name Manka and Sáleh, the former of whom translated a treatise on poison into Persian, held appointments as body-physicians at the Court of Hárúnu-r-rashíd §

The Arabians possessed during the early periods of the Khalífate several other Indian works which had been translated into Arabic, some on astronomy,|| some on music,¶ some on

\* Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol II pp 144—504

† *Biographical Dictionary*, L U K Vol II p 242

‡ Dietz, *Analecta Medica*, pp 126—140

§ *Journal of Education* Vol VIII p 176. *Royle Antiquity of Hindu Medicine* p 64. *Oriental Mag* March, 1823. D Herbelot, *Art Ketaf al Sarour* Abul-farag *Hist D'ancst* p 138.

|| Casiri *Bibliotheca Escurialensis*, Vol I p 426

¶ Casiri, *ibid* p 427

judicial astrology,\* some on interpretation of dreams,† some on the religion and theogony of the Hindús,‡ some on their sacred scriptures,§ some on the calculation of nativities,|| some on physiognomy,¶ and some on palmistry,\* besides others, which need not be here enumerated

If we turn our eyes towards India, we find that scarcely had these ruthless conquerors gained a footing in the land, than Bírúní exerted himself with the utmost diligence to study the language, literature and science of India, and attained, as we have already seen, such proficiency in it, as to be able to translate into, as well as from, the Sanscrit Muhammed bin Isráíl al-Tanúkhí also travelled early into India, to learn the system of astronomy which was taught by the sages of that country.† There seems, however, no good authority for Abú-l-fazl's statement, in the *Ayín-i-Akberí*, that Abú Ma'shar (Albumazar) visited Benares at an earlier period;—and the visit of Ibn-al-baithár to India, four centuries afterwards, rests solely on the authority of Leo Africanus ‡

\* Hottingeri *Promptuarium*, p 254

† Casiri, *Bibliotheca Escurialensis*, Vol, I p 401

‡ Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis Scriptis Arabis* pp 104—113 De-Guignes, *Mém de l'Académie des Inscriptions* Tom XXVI p 791 et seq

§ D'Herbelot, *Art de l'Inde, Ambahoumatah, Behergur* See also *Ketab alkhafi*, *Ketab Roi al Hendi*, and several other articles under *Ketab*

|| Háji Khalfa, Vol I p 282 Diez, *Analecta Medica*, p. 118

¶ D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale* Tom IV p 725 Diez, *Analecta Medica* p 117

\* Háji Khalfa, Vol I. p 263

† Casiri, *Bibl Escurial* Vol I p 429

‡ Hottingeri *Bibl quadripartita*, ap Gildemeister, *Scriptis Arabis*, p 80.

Again, when FÍROZ Sháh, after the capture of Nagarcote, in the middle of the fourteenth century, obtained possession of a valuable Sanscrit library, he ordered a work on philosophy, divination and omens, to be translated, under the name of *Daláil-i-Fírozsháhi*, by Mauláná Izzu-d-dín Khálid Khání, whose historical work will be noticed under the Khiljí Dynasty ;—and to have enabled the translator to do this, he must have acquired no slight knowledge of the original, before his selection for the duty

In the Nawwáb Jalálu-d-daulah's library at Lakhnau, there is a work on astrology, also translated from the Sanscrit into Persian in Fíroz Sháh's reign

A knowledge of Sanscrit must have prevailed pretty generally about this time, for there is in the Royal Library at Lakhnau a work on the veterinary art, which was translated from the Sanscrit by order of Ghaiásu-d-dín Muhammed Sháh Khiljí

This rare book, called *Kurrutu-l-mulk*, was translated as early as A H 783—A D. 1381—from an original, styled *Sálotar*, which is the name of an Indian, who is said to have been a Bráhmín, and the tutor of Susruta. The Preface says that the translation was made “from the barbarous Hindí into the refined Persian, in order that there may be no more need of a reference to Infidels”

It is a small work, comprising only 41 pages 8vo of 13 lines, and the style is very concise

It is divided into eleven Chapters, and thirty Sections

Chapter I	On the breeds and names of horses,	4	Sections
II	On their odour, on riding, and breeding,	4	“
III	On stable management, and on wasps building nests in a stable, ....	2	“
IV	On colour and its varieties, ... .	2	“
V	On their blemishes, . . . .	3	“
VI	On their limbs, . . . .	2	“
VII	On sickness and its remedies, . . . .	4	“
VIII	On bleeding, ... ..	4	“
IX	On food and diet, . . . .	2	“
X	On feeding for the purpose of fattening,	3	“
XI	On ascertaining the age by the teeth,	0	“

The precise age of this work is doubtful, because, although it is plainly stated to have been translated in A. H. 783, yet the reigning prince is called Sultán Ghaiásu-d-dín Muhammed Sháh, son of Mahmúd Sháh, and there is no king so named, whose reign corresponds with that date. If Sultán Ghaiásu-d-dín Toghlak be meant, it should date 60 years earlier, and if the king of Málwa, who bore that name, be meant, it should be dated 100 years later;—either way, it very much precedes the reign of Akber \*

The translator makes no mention in it of the work on the same subject, which had been previously translated from the Sanscrit into Arabic at Baghdád, under the name of Kitábu-l-Baitarat.

\* It is curious, that without any allusion to this work, another on the veterinary art, styled Sálótari, and said to comprise in the Sanscrit original 16,000 slokas, was translated in the reign of Shahjehan, “when there were many learned men who knew Sanscrit,” by Sayyid Abdullah Khan Bahádar Firoz Jang, who had found it amongst some other Sanscrit books, which during his expedition against Mewár, in the reign of Jehángir, had been plundered from Amar Sing, Rana of Chitor, and “one of the chief Zemíndárs of the hill-country.” It is divided into twelve Chapters, and is more than double the size of the other

From all these instances it is evident that Faizí did not occupy the entirely new field of literature for which he usually obtains credit

The same error seems to have pervaded the history of European scholarship in Sanscrit. We read as early as A D 1677 of Mr Marshall's being a proficient in the language, and without mentioning the dubious names of Anquetil du Perron\* and Father Paolino,† others could perhaps be named, who preceded in this arduous path the celebrated scholars of the present period

In such an enquiry as this also must not be omitted the still more important evidence afforded by the *Mujmalu-t-Tawárikh*, from which we have a most interesting extract in M. Reinaud's "Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatif à l'Inde." This extract was translated in A H 520—A D 1126,—by Abú-l-Hasan Alí bin Muhammed, from the Arabic of Abú Sáleh bin Sh'ib bin Jáma', who had himself abridged it a

\* See *Geschichte der Philosophie*, Vol I p 412 *Edinb Rev* Vol I p 75, and Heeren's *Historical Researches*, Vol II p 129

† Böhlen speaks of his *Grammatica Sanscredamica*, Rom 1790, as "full of the grossest blunders," Sir William Jones designates him as "homo trium litterarum," and Leyden is even less complimentary in his strictures—"The publication of his *Uyacarana*, Rom 1804, has given a death-blow to his vaunted pretensions to profound oriental learning, and shown, as was previously suspected, that he was incapable of accurately distinguishing Sanscrit from the vernacular languages of India. Equally superficial, inaccurate, and virulent in his invective, a critic of his own stamp would be tempted to retort on him his own quotation from Ennius—

*Smia quam simili turpissima bestia vobis"*

See *Das alte Indien*, Vol II p 471 *As Res* Vol X p 278 *Journ Asiatique*, Tom II p 216 Heeren, *Histor Res* Vol II p 108 M. Abel-Rémusat *Nour Mel Asiat* Tom II pp. 305—315 *Quart Or Mac* Vol IV, p 158



hundred years before from a Sanscrit (*Hindwá-ni*) work, which the Arabic author entitles *Ababu-l-Mulúk*, or "Instruction of Kings." The translator was librarian of Jurján near the Caspian sea, and the copy of the Arabic translation which he examined was in the hand-writing of Abú Sáleh himself. The original Sanscrit is described as being chiefly, like the *Kalíla wa Damna*, in the form of dialogue, in which quadrupeds and birds are the interlocutors. The Persian translation is badly executed, being much too literal, and without any pretensions to style, and the same neglect of the most ordinary grace and embellishment has been observed in the author's own composition, in the portions which are original.

M. Reinaud is of opinion that the translated Sanscrit work was composed about the commencement of the Christian era, certainly long previous to the Rája Tarangíní, and probably to the *Mahábhárata*; and that the subsequent reputation of that poem threw the translated work into the shade. If so, it would go far to show that the *Mahábhárata* is, as Wolfe and Heyne say of the *Iliad*, a collection of older poems already current; for there are many passages in the *Mujmalu-t-Tawárikh* which are almost verbatim the same as they are at present preserved in the *Mahábhárata*. Indeed, it might be said that the *Mahábhárata* was itself the work translated by the Arab, had not animals been represented as the speakers.

The learned Editor also thinks he has dis-

covered in this extract indications of the Bráhmical influence being established over the Kshatryas, at an epoch subsequent to the war between the Pándava and Kurava. The inference however rests upon very questionable grounds, so questionable indeed, that we are tempted to exclaim, as the pious Persian translator does at the end of each Indian fable recorded by him, "God only knows the truth!"

At any rate, we have here another instance of Sanscrit having been translated before the eleventh century.

The Manuscript is numbered 62 in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, and has been described in the *Journal Asiatique* at different times by M. Quatremère and M. Jules Mohl.

The Persian translator\* says that his father was the compiler of an historical work, and that he himself had written a history of the Barmecides from their origin to their extinction. He was a traveller, for he informs us that he had visited the tombs of Daniel, Ezekiel, and Jonas, and certain ancient buildings in Persia and Babylonia. He informs us that he commenced his book A H 520—A D 1126,—during the reign of Sinjar, son of Mahk Shah, Sultán of the Saljúkís, but he must have lived long after this, for he records an event of A H 589.

\* It is not easy to ascertain his real name. M. Reinaud gives it as Abu-l Hasan Ali bin Muhammed. M. Quatremère and M. Mohl say his name is utterly unknown, and give his pedigree as grand son of Muhalieb bin Muhammed bin Shadi.

HIS work is a chronological abridgment of universal history to the sixth century of the Hyrí. He quotes several rare authorities and makes a critical use of them. The topic on which he appears to have exercised most of his reseaches is the history of Persia, on which subject he promises to write hereafter a more detailed account. He gives many curious and circumstantial details on Geography, derived not only from books, but from his own personal observation.

The authorities he quotes are the history of Tabarí, the Sháhnáma, Garshaspnáma, Ferámuznáma, Bahmannáma, Kúsh-píl-dandán, Abú-l-múayyid Balkhí, Hamza Isfaháni, and some others. He says, that he quotes these in original, although they will be found to agree but little with one another, in order, that his readers may know all that has been said upon the subjects he discusses; that he abridges their prolixities, and discards their quotations in verse; that if ever he quotes poetry, it is on account of its intrinsic excellence, or its peculiar adaptation to the subject he had to illustrate.

“The transactions of the kings of Persia, he continues, “are the only ones which I propose to recount at length, because that country is placed in the centre of the universe, because it forms one quarter of the habitable globe, because it is the cradle of the human race, because it is the residence of the kings of the fourth climate, because other portions of the globe, such as China, India, Zanj, Arabia, Greece.

and Turkistán are not to be compared to I'rán, nor is any other country, whether east, west, north or south,—because, moreover, in reading the history of Persia, any one can at the same time instruct himself respecting the state, position, peculiarities and marvels of other countries ”

This work, therefore, as far as it goes, may be considered an introduction to the History of Persia, and that the author completed the entire work cannot be doubted, because he constantly alludes to the details which he has given in the subsequent part. The discovery of the complete work would be a matter of congratulation. It was at one time the intention of M M. Saint Martin and J Mohl to publish the *Mujmal* with a commentary, and there is great cause to regret that the death of the former interrupted the project.

The work, as at present preserved, consists of twenty-five Chapters, of which many comprise merely chronological tables, such as those of the Prophets, kings of Rúm, Arabs, Sámánides, Búyides, Ghaznevîdes, Saljúkians, and Greeks, but enters into more particulars respecting the Hindú kings of India, the ancient kings of Persia, Muhammed, and the Khalîfs, celebrated tombs, and Muhammedan cities. Without the last chapter, which is missing, the Manuscript contains 305 folios \*

\* See *Journal Asiatique*, trois ser Tom VII pp 246—285, Tom XI pp 136—178 258—301, 320—361. *Le Livre des Rois*, Tom I pp 1—lv. Auquetil du Perron *Zendavesta*, Tom II pp 352, et seq

## EXTRACTS

*History of the Jats and Meds.*

As an account of the Jats and Meds is given in the first part of the original work, I shall commence mine by making them the subject of it

The Jats and Meds are, it is said, descendants of Ham They inhabited Sind and the banks of the river Bah By the Arabs the Hindús are called Jats \* The Jats kept large herds of goats The Meds† used to invade the territories of the Jats and

\* Respecting the Jats of Sind, Masson observes —

"The Jets constitute the great bulk of the fixed agricultural population of Kach Gandara, as of the Punjab and Sindetic provinces, to say nothing of the countries between the Sutlej and Ganges A race so widely dispersed, of course, claims attention Wherever located it is distinguished by speaking nearly the same dialect, and the name designating it carries us back to the Getic or Gothic invaders of India and of Europe To the north and west of Kach Gandara they are not found as agriculturalists, but rather as itinerant professors of humble arts, somewhat like gypsies Under such conditions they may be discovered at Kabal, Kandahar, and even at Herat, at which latter place they are called, perhaps with reference to their occupations, Gharío Zâda, or descendants of the poor or lowly But wherever they go they preserve their vernacular tongue, the Jetki In the Punjab I believe, they do not occur westward of the Jélam, which is instructive, as showing, if they represent the ancient Getic races, how they have been pushed forward by subsequent invaders There can be no doubt but that the Getæ once possessed the whole of the countries immediately east and west of the Indus With the Jet population, east of the Jélam, waggons, to the traveller from the west, first make their appearance

"The language of the Jet races deserves notice, especially with reference to the important question, what is Hindi? Materials for the comparison of its various dialects exist in their several Vocabularies, and the labour of reviewing them could not be unprofitable The settlement of the Jets in Kach Gandara has been at so remote a period, that they now appear as the Aborigines Their subdivisions are numerous The names of some of them are the Kalora, which formerly gave princes to Sind, Kolar, Hampi, Tonia, Abbrah, Pusarar, Machi, Horra, Manjú, Waddara, Palal, Buah, &c." *Journey to Kelat*, pp 351

—3 See also *Zeitschrift f d Kunde d Morgenlandes*, Vol III p 209  
 † It is said that there is a tribe called Mez, on the lower Indus, if so, that may be the proper reading of the text, by adding a diacritical point They are doubtless the same as the Mand mentioned at p 64, respecting whom Ibn Haukal observes — "The infidels who inhabit Sind are called Bodha and Mand." If Med should be the correct reading of this latter passage (and a transposition of points is all that is required to make it so) we might be encouraged from the juxtaposition of the two names, to look upon them as descendants of the ancient Medes, for Herodotus observes that the Medes were divided into six clans, of which one was the Búdi (*Cho*, c vii)

put them to great distress, which compelled them to take refuge on the other side of the river Pahan, but being accustomed to the use of boats, they easily crossed and made a successful attack on the Meds, killed many of them, took several prisoners, and plundered their country

One of the Jat chiefs, seeing the sad state to which the Meds were reduced, made the people of his tribe understand that success was not constant, that there was a time when the Meds attacked the Jats, and harassed them, and that the Jats had in their turn done the same. He impressed upon their minds the utility of both tribes living in peace, and then advised the Jats and Meds to send a few chiefs to wait on king Dajúshan, (Daryodhann) son of Dahrát, (Dhritaráshttra) and beg of him to appoint a king over them who might govern them, and that good might result from it. After some discussion, his proposition was adopted, and the emperor Dajúshan nominated his sister Dassal, wife of king Jandrat, a powerful prince, to rule over the Jats and Meds. Dassal went and took charge of the country and cities, the particulars of which and of the wisdom of the princess, are detailed in the original work.

There was no Bráhmín or wise man in the country who had attained to such a degree of wisdom as the queen. She therefore wrote a long letter to her brother for assistance, who collected 30,000 Bráhmíns from all Hindústán, and sent them, with their families and adherents, to his sister.

There are several discussions and conversations about these Bráhmíns in the original work.

From this time Sind became populous.

The original work gives a description of the provinces, the rivers and wonders of the country, and mentions the foundation of cities.

The city which the queen made the capital, is called Askaland \*. A small portion of the country was made over to the Jats, and one of them was elected as their chief, his name was Júdrat.

Similar arrangements were also made for the Meds.

This government continued for twenty wands of years, after which the Bhárats lost possession of the country

\* \* \* \* \*

### *History of the kingdom of Cashmín and Hál*

It is said that Hál was the descendant of Sanjwárah, son of Jandrat, and of the daughter of Dahrát. Having inherited in Hindústán the territories which had been occupied by Jandrat and Dassal, who were members of a powerful clan, (?) his autho-

\* This is no doubt the Ashkandra of Pottinger and others, which as it is called by Biládori Askalandúsah, is not improbably the Alexandria Oxydrace of the Greeks.

city was very great. He built several cities and places of note. His country was remarkable for the superior quality of the cloth that was manufactured there. The exportation of this fabric, without the stamp of the king, was prohibited. This stamp was an impression of his foot with saffron.

It happened that the wife of the king of Cashmír bought some of the cloth bearing the stamp of Hál,\* and having made up a dress of the same, she appeared before her husband, who at the sight of the stamp got jealous, and asked her whence she got the cloth, and what stamp was on it. His wife replied that she had bought it from a merchant. The merchant was sent for, and the king made enquiries about it. The merchant said that the stamp on the cloth was an impression of king Hál's foot. On hearing this the king of Cashmír swore he would go and cut off the leg of king Hál. His Wazír observed, that there were "great many Bráhmíns in that country who would oppose him, and that he would not be successful." The king of Cashmír did not heed this advice, but marched out with his army. When Hál heard of the king of Cashmír's intentions, he was much alarmed, he sent information to the Bráhmíns and told them of the king of Cashmír's threat, and said it behoved them therefore to throw obstacles in his way. The Bráhmíns offered up their prayers, and counselled him to have an elephant made of clay, and to have it placed in front of the battle field. Hál did so, and as soon as the king of Cashmír's force, that marched in advance under their commander-in-chief, had come near the elephant, the elephant burst, and the flames it threw out destroyed a great part of the invading force.

The king of Cashmír was then compelled to sue for peace, at the conclusion of which, Hál sent many presents to him, and the king in order to fulfil his oath, cut off the leg of an image made of wax, and returned by water. He was advised not to proceed by water on account of the depth and strong current of the river. In compliance with this advice he disembarked. At every day's journey the river fell, till its breadth was diminished by several parasangs. In that country he built many houses and villages. The sea in Hindí is called Sávandar (Samudr). Hence the chief town was called Sávandí, and it exists to this day. He also built several temples and superb cities. Soon after, he was informed of the approach of an enemy, which obliged him to return to his country, whence he expelled the invaders. The government remained for a length of time in the hands of his descendants, and all the Hindús were obedient to them.

\* This is the same legend as that of Mihirakula in the Rája Taruṅgi, (II 32,) and the foot plays an important part in several other Indian stories. One will be found above, at p 104. See also Sprenger's *El-Mas'údí*, p 318.

## XXIV

## تاریخ حقی

## TARIKH-I-HAKKI

This work contains a brief general history of Muhammedan India, from the time of the slave-kings of Dehli to that of Akber, in the forty-second year of whose reign it was composed, 1 e A. H 1005—A D. 1596—7 The name of the author is Sheikh Abdu-l-Hakk bin Saifu-d-din of Dehli. From a quatrain in the preface of his history, it would appear that Hakki, "the true," while it contains a play upon his own name, is a mere literary appellation, assumed according to a practice common in the east, and by which name he seems to wish that his history should be known, though it is most frequently styled *Tarikh-i-Abdu-l-Hakk*

Abdu-l-Hakk was a descendant of one of Timúr's followers, who remained behind, it is said, together with some other foreign chiefs, at Dehli, after the return of that conqueror to his native land. The Sheikh early applied himself to the cultivation of knowledge, and at twenty years of age had mastered most



of the customary branches of education, and learnt the whole of the Kurán by heart.\* At the time he was prosecuting his studies, the author† tells us that he used to go twice a day to college, morning and evening, during the heat of one season and the cold of another, returning for a short time for a meal to his own house. As he informs us that his dwelling was two miles from the college, this statement, if true, shows that he travelled eight miles a day, which, it must be confessed, exhibited unusual ardour in the acquisition of knowledge. His father observed that he did not enjoy pastimes like other boys, and endeavoured to dissuade him from his intense application.

Upon leaving Dehli, he associated for a long time with Abdu-l-Kádir, Sheikh Faizí and Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed at Fatehpúr.‡ but left them upon some slight misunderstanding. Nevertheless, through the interest of the latter, he obtained a passage on a vessel proceeding to Arabia, whither he went on a pilgrimage. He dwelt for a long time in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and derived much instruction from the learned men of those cities. He wrote works upon many subjects—commentaries, travels, Súfí doctrines, religion and history, and his different treatises amount altogether to more than one hundred. The best known are the *Medína Sakína*, the *Madárij-u-n-*

\* *Bádsháh-námá* of Abdu-l-Hamíd Lohorí (MS. fol. 451 v.)

† *Shiháb-u-l-Akbar*, (MS. fol. 354 v.)

‡ *Tárikh-i-Badsháhí* of Abdu-l-Kádir, (MS. fol. 223 r.)

Nubúwat, the Jazbu-l-Kulúb,\* and the Akhbáru-l-Akhyár In the year 1047 H although he was then ninety years old, he is said† to have been in full possession of his faculties, and to have employed himself in religious duties, in instruction, and composition, as vigorously as if he had been still a young man

The author, who now holds a high rank among the saints of Hindústán, informs us that his desire to write history arose from a perusal of the *Tárikh-i-Fíroz-sháhí*, by which he alludes to that of Ziyáu-d-dín Barní, as he mentions that the lives of several kings are contained in it, which is not the case with the other histories of that name. But as that work concludes with the beginning of Fíroz Sháh's reign, he sought to obtain information respecting the kings who succeeded him, and lighted upon the *Tárikh-i-Bahádar-sháhí*, written by Sám Súltán Bahádar Gujrátí, from which he has extracted down to the reign of Behlöl Lodí He then thought it would be advisable to complete the reigns previous to those noticed in the *Tárikh-i-Fíroz-sháhí*, and therefore abstracted from the *Tabakát-i-Násnái* the reigns from Mu'izzú-d-dín Sám (Muhammed Ghorí) to Násiru-d-dín Mahmúd bin Sultán Shamsu-d-dín He has been judicious in his small selection, as these three are the best authorities for their respective periods From Behlöl Lodí to his own time he has

\* This is a history of Medina, which was commenced in that city in A H 998, and has lately been very well printed in Calcutta.

† *Badsháh-náma*, ut supra.

depended on verbal information, and upon what came under his own observation, all the rest of his work being taken, as he candidly confesses, verbatim from the three authors above quoted

After carrying, in the first chapter, the general history of Dehli down to Akber's time, he gives, in the second, a compendious account of the rulers of Bengál, Jaunpúr, Mándú, Deccan, Múltán, Sind and Cashmír, but the narrative is much too brief to be of any use

#### EXTRACT

Shortly after ascending the throne, Fíroz Sháh was murdered by his maternal uncle Mubáriz Khán Selím Sháh had anticipated this, and had therefore asked his wife's consent to kill her brother, saying that if she did not accede to his proposal, she would not long see her son alive The senseless woman, not thinking her brother capable of such an act, would not give her consent, and accordingly Fíroz Sháh was soon after murdered, as Selím Sháh had predicted Fíroz Sháh reigned not more than three days and 5 hours After his murder, all his Afghán relations claimed the throne One assumed the title of Sekander, another of Sultán Ibráhím, and a third of Sultán Muhammed Ádil The rivals contested the point amongst themselves most pertinaciously for three or four years, when at length, in the month of Shawwál in the year 963, the Humái of Humáiyún again spread the wings of its prosperity and good luck upon the kingdom of Hindústán The dust of distress which had obscured the beautiful face of the kingdom was washed away by the water of peace and union, and the heart of the country was invigorated by a new infusion of life Joy and gladness, gratitude and boundless hope were diffused among all people, both high and low, rich and poor

Within six months of his second reign, Humáiyún, while standing one evening enjoying the fresh air on the top of the red palace in the Fort of Dehli, heard the "Azán" called, and sitting down out of respect to the summons to evening prayer, his foot slipped by accident, and he fell to the ground He died on the spot, or at least a few days afterwards, and the bird of his victorious soul fled to the nest of Paradise From God we proceed, to God shall we return<sup>1</sup>

He was succeeded by his son Sultán Abú-l-fateh Jalálu-d-dín Muhammed Akber Bádsháh Ghází, of super-eminent dignity, &c

&c He ascended the throne in his youth, and though more than forty years have elapsed since his reign began, he is still in the very bloom of his dominion, and in the commencement of his power, for every day brings accounts of new victories and new conquests, so that by the blessing of God his kingdom extends over the whole of Hindústán, (which is called "Chahárdang," that is a quarter of the world,) including all its forts and territories, without any one being associated with him in power, and without any one daring to offer opposition. This country is bounded on three sides by the sea, and all the kings and their descendants, chiefs, nobles and Rájás, and all people, of every degree throughout the whole country, pay allegiance to him, willingly acknowledge him as their sovereign, and place the head of abject submission on the ground in his presence. Territories, treasures, elephants, horses, armies and all other things, suitable to the state and dignity of Emperors, came into his possession in such abundance, that they are beyond all calculation, and are of a value far exceeding any thing which has ever yet been in the possession of other Emperors.

"This monarch, at the very commencement of his reign, effected that which kings who have reigned many years have not been able to accomplish, God can place the whole world in the hands of one person!"

The kings and Sultáns, who have been spoken of in this book, are not worthy of those titles in the presence of the exalted majesty of Akber, with the exception, perhaps, of one or two individuals, but to call even them kings, in comparison, requires no small degree of courage and resolution.

In short, it is difficult to describe the victories of the Emperor Akber, and the mode in which he captured countries, his regulations, his principles of government, his extraordinary orders, his courteous and engaging manners, and the many innovations which he introduced. Entire volumes and registers would be requisite for such a purpose. If I be blessed with a long life, and if I receive the aid of God, I shall attempt to the utmost of my power to write the history of the Emperor. May it be the will of God that, through the aid of this omnipotent Emperor of Emperors, the Muhammedan law and religion may be established for ever and ever! O God of the worlds, accept this prayer!"

SIZE —Small 8vo containing 142 pages of 18 lines each

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As this time-serving saint was prepared to speak of his reforming patron in such a prepos-

terous strain of adulation, we have little reason to regret that he never fulfilled the purpose of writing an account of his reign.

The best copy of this little history, which I have seen, belongs to Nawwáb Násiru-d-dín Ahmed of Pánípat, in whose collection it is improperly called *Tárikh-i-Salátín Ghorí*. Nizám-u-d-dín, a physician resident at Banda, also possesses a good copy.

In a Manuscript belonging to a native gentleman at Dehli, the first chapter closes with these words, "thus ends the first chapter of the *Tazkiratu-s-Salátín*," which would imply that this work is known by that name; but, if so, it cannot be the work generally known as the *Tazkiratu-s-Salátín*, for that is devoted to an account of the Hindú dynasties, and upon that compilation Colonel Wilford, in his essay on Vicramáditya and Sáliváhana, makes the following just observations :—

"This treatise is a most perfect specimen of the manner of writing history in India; for, excepting the above list, almost every thing else is the production of the fertile genius of the compiler. In all these lists the compilers and revisers seem to have had no other object in view, but to adjust a certain number of remarkable epochs. This being once effected, the intermediate spaces are filled up with names of kings not to be found any where else, and most probably fanciful. Otherwise they leave out the names of those kings of whom nothing is recorded, and attribute the years of their

reign to some among them better known, and of greater fame. They often do not scruple to transpose some of those kings, and even whole dynasties; either in consequence of some pre-conceived opinion, or owing to their mistaking a famous king for another of the same name. It was not uncommon with ancient writers, to pass from a remote ancestor to a remote descendant, or from a remote predecessor to a remote successor, by leaving out the intermediate generations or successions, and sometimes ascribing the years of their reigns to a remote successor or predecessor. In this manner the lists of the ancient kings of Persia, both by oriental writers, and others in the west, have been compiled. and some instances of this nature might be produced from Scripture. I was acquainted lately, at Benares, with a chronicler of that sort, and in the several conversations I had with him, he candidly acknowledged, that he filled up the intermediate spaces between the reigns of famous kings, with names at a venture, that he shortened or lengthened their reigns at pleasure; and that it was understood, that his predecessors had taken the same liberties. Though their emendations and corrections, you see plainly a total want of historical knowledge and criticism; and sometimes some disingenuity is but too obvious. This is, however, the case with the sections on futurity in the Bhagavat, Vayu, Vishnu, and Brahmanda Puranas; which with the above lists constitute the whole stock of historical knowledge among

the Hindús ; and the whole might be comprised in a few quarto pages of print.\*

The *Tárikh-i-Hakkí* opens with a passage from the Kurán.

اللهم مالك الملك توتي الملك من تشاء وتزعج الملك  
 ممن تشاء وتعز من تشاء وتذل من تشاء بيدك الخير انك  
 على كل شئ قدير منطوق آية كريمه شامل است مر تمامه ملكهارا  
 كه مالك الملك المطلق على الإطلاق جل جلاله وعم نواله مر بدكان  
 خود را عموما و خصوصا عطا فرموده

The conclusion varies. Three copies end with *محروسة شد*, which precedes the passage given below. A fourth copy ends with *پدیرمت*. The most perfect closes with a chronogram, which if written by the author, would seem to show that he wished his work to be styled *Zikr-i-Mulúk*. The preface, as before observed, authorizes the name of *Tárikh-i-Hakkí*.

تم الكتاب وعم الخطای والحمد لله الكريم الوهاب على كل حال ولی كل  
 ما عرض میدارد جامع این رساله و ناقل این عقده عبدالحق  
 حقى اسعد الله اليه مدارج الكمال و الترقى كه درین تذكرة ذكر  
 بادشاهان دكن تا سده سبع تلتین و تسعمائة اتفاق افتاده چون علم  
 باحوال جماع كه بعد ازین سال تا سال كتاب اینجورف كه حرار  
 و جمع است حاضر الوقت نه بود در قید كذاست نه در آمد مهمین علت  
 در تفصیل احوال اسامی بادشاهان سند و كسمیر اعمال و تقصیر  
 امد و نقصان پدیرمت خبر این نقصان و اتمام این كلام بر دمه  
 عنایت كرام واجب و لازم باد

ارذكر ملوك رمت تقریب سخن امد سخن بعز و لی بی سرون  
 ناقص چون ناد سال تاریخش را ارذكر ملوك یازده ناقص كن

\* *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. pp 132, 133

## XXV

## زبدة التواريخ

## ZUBDATU-T-TAWARIKH

This is a general history, composed by Sheikh Núru-l-Hakk, al-Mashrakí, al-Dehlví, al-Bokháí, the son of Abdu-l-Hakk, noticed in the preceding article. The addition of al-Mashrakí would imply that his family had changed their abode from Dehli to some district of Jaunpúr.

Núru-l-Hakk's work is an enlarged edition of his father's history, and was composed, as the author informs us, in order that by improving the style, and supplying omissions, he might render it worthy the acceptance of his patron, Sheikh Farídu-d-dín Bokháí, with whom he was connected by marriage, and who suggested the undertaking. It is for this reason that a large space is devoted to an account of Sheikh Farídu-d-dín's expeditions during the time of Akber, and an interesting detail is given of his proceedings in Cashmir, the Khyber hills, Jammú, Jasrauta, Rámgarh, and other places in the Sewálík hills. The same officer was subsequently appointed to the pursuit of Khusrú in the early part of Jehángír's reign, in which expedition he acquired credit for considerable



gallantry, and under the title of Murtaza Khán, managed for some time the affairs of the empire.

The work commences with the reign of Kutb-u-d-dín, and ends with the close of Akber's reign, which is copiously abstracted from the Akbernáma, and comprises one half of the entire history of the Dehli emperors. This is by far the most valuable part of the work, for besides what he copies from Abú-l-fazl, the author writes much from his own knowledge of contemporary events. A hope is held out that the author may be able to continue the work, and detail some of the events of Jehángír's reign, of whom he was a contemporary.

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History of the kings of Jaumpúr, from p 532 to 542

Size—Large 8vo comprising 542 pages, of 16 lines to a page

By Muhammed Háshim, the author of the Muntakhabu-l-lubáb, this history is styled the Táríkh-i-zubda. The name of Zubdatu-t-tawá-ríkh is very common, and besides the history of this name, which will be noticed in another part of this work, there are two which have a classical reputation both in the east and west; one by Háfiz Abrú, noticed above, (Art: IV.) the other by Jamálu-d-dín Abú-l-kásim Káshí.

There is one also of a later date by Kamál Khán bin Jalál Munajjim. It is a general history, but chiefly devoted to Persia, the history of which it brings down to the close of the sixteenth century.

#### EXTRACTS.

#### *Sultána Razía.*

Sultána Razía was the daughter of Sultán Shamsu-ddín, and was a wise, just, merciful, affable, beneficent, and fortunate sovereign, possessing all the best qualifications which become a ruler, except that she was not endowed with the form of a man. She was appointed regent in the time of her father, and conducted herself with remarkable propriety. Her mother was the chief begum of the haram, and the daughter therefore was bred up with princely notions becoming her station.

It is said that Sultán Shamsu-d-dín nominated her as his successor towards the close of his reign, and upon some of his relations observing that it was not proper in him to select a daughter, when he had sons living, he replied, "my sons are immersed in youthful pleasures, and are by no means qualified to govern a kingdom, as you will yourselves observe when I am no more."

When Sultána Razía ascended the throne, all business was again regulated according to the system established by her father, and which had been suspended during the late short reign, but some of the ministers and chiefs raised the standard of rebellion against her, and it was only after much resistance, contention, and slaughter, that her authority was confirmed. She bestowed honors and lands upon her nobles, led her own troops to battle, and achieved victories at their head. After a short time, she discarded her female apparel and veil, wore a tunic and cap like a man, gave public audience, and rode on an elephant without any attempt at concealment.

One of the most remarkable incidents which occurred at the beginning of her reign, was that, at the instigation of a person called Nur Turk, several Carmathians, and heretics of Hindustán assembled at Delhi from various quarters of Hind, Gujrát, Sind, the banks of the Jumna and Ganges, and the environs of the capital, and entering into a bond of fidelity to one another, declared open hostility against Islam. Wherever this Nur Turk preached, the vagabonds used to collect, and call the Sunnis fools and idiots, inflaming the minds of the common people against the wise men who followed the doctrines of Abu Hanifa and Shafá'i. This insolence reached to such a pitch, that on Friday, the 6th

of Rajab A H 634, about a thousand of these Carmathians, armed with swords and shields, came in two bodies to the mosque, and attacked the Muhammedans. Many were slain by the sword, and many were trampled to death by the crowd. Upon hearing the clamour, the royal troops seized their arms, and accompanied by several citizens, rushed towards the scene of the encounter, and making an attack upon the heretics and Carmathians, despatched them all to hell, and thus at last the tumult was allayed \*

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Sultán Mu'izzu-d-dín Karkobád.*

Sultán Mu'izzu-d-dín was seventeen years old when he ascended the throne. He was of a mild disposition, and courteous in his demeanour. It is said that Sultán Balban made his sons over to the care of tutors, and would not allow them any pleasure or recreation. If any one of them was not present at the stated times of prayer, the Sultán would not speak to him for a whole week, or even a whole month, and would conduct himself toward the offender with great sternness and severity.

Mu'izzu-d-dín, after he became king, opened for himself the door of pleasure, and indulged in all kinds of debauchery, frivolity, and drunkenness. He built a new city and palace within the area of Kílúkheri, on the banks of the Jumna, and collected there, from the countries round Dehli, a band of buffoons, jesters, players and singers, and surrounded himself with beauty and pleasure. All the people, on the principle of "like master, like

\* This curious anecdote is omitted by almost all the general historians. It is here given by Núru-l-Hakk nearly verbatim from the *Tabakát-i-Násiri*.

The Carmathians were the followers of a famous impostor, named Carmath, who in A H 278 was the author of a sect which subverted all the principles of Muhammedanism. He was a person of great austerity, and asserted that God had commanded him to pray fifty times a day; whereas Muhammedans enjoin only five prayers a day. His followers allegorized all the precepts of Muhammedan law. The sect multiplied greatly in Arabian Irak, and maintained during the period of their existence constant wars against the Khalifs. In A H 319, they took the city of Mecca, filled the holy well with dead bodies, defiled and plundered the temple, and carried away the black stone, and did not restore it till A H 339, pretending that they were ordered to do so by express revelation from heaven.

The sect appears to have maintained itself for a longer period in India than elsewhere. Mahmúd, the Ghaznevide, expelled them from the occupation of Multán, and here we find them in force at Dehli in the beginning of the thirteenth century. See *Dictionary of Religious Ceremonies*, v Carmathah, D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Or* v Carmath, Renaud, *Fragments*, p 142.

man," imitated his bad example, and gave themselves up to rioting and debauchery. Even the very mosques and other places of worship were defiled, and the idol temples and taverns were the scenes of riot and voluptuousness. There was no kind of administration or government, high and low, rich and poor, had no work to perform, except to drink and be jolly, get up jovial parties, sing, gamble, squander money, recite poetry, search out for new means of gratification, and pass night and day in reckless pursuit of the grossest sensuality and vice \* \* \* \* \*

Soon after he had determined, at the instigation of his father, on murdering the minister Malik Nizâmû-d-dîn, some of his nobles, when he was intoxicated in his private apartments, obtained his permission to accomplish that purpose, and poisoned the minister by mixing a deadly potion in his wine. Upon his death, the little order and system which prevailed in the government was completely subverted, for he was an experienced and intelligent statesman, and patronized learned men.

A short time after this, Mu'izzû-d-dîn became perfectly disabled by paralysis, brought on by drunkenness and venery, and day by day his pain became more excruciating, as he lay at death's door in the very palace which had been the scene of his revels.

Meanwhile, Sultân Jalâlû-d-dîn, who held the post of 'Arz, encamped at Hâpûr with a body of adherents, consisting of Khiljîs and relations, for the avowed purpose of raising an army round his standard, and seeing that Mu'izzû-d-dîn lay bed-ridden and incapable of exertion, he determined to seize the throne of Dehli for himself, upon this, the Tureomans brought forth the king's son, though he was but a child, from the female apartments, and seated him on the throne in the fort of Dehli, under the name of Sultân Shamsû-d-dîn. They also administered medicines to Mu'izzû-d-dîn in the palace of Kîlûkherî. Sultân Jalâlû-d-dîn, with a select body of brave and determined followers, entered the royal audience-chamber, and taking the boy from the throne, sent him to his father, Mu'izzû-d-dîn, and slew many of the chiefs who adhered to his cause.

Two days after this, a nobleman, whose father had been killed by the king, was sent into the palace to murder him. As his life was nearly extinct, a few kicks were sufficient to despatch him, and he was rolled up in a bed-sheet and thrown into the Jumna. Jalâlû-d-dîn then seated himself on the throne in Kîlûkherî, but fearing the townspeople, and the nobles of Mu'izzû-d-dîn's Court, to whom the Khiljîs were very obnoxious, he came forth from Kîlûkherî, and according to the usual custom, ascended the throne in the old palace in the city. From that day the kingdom departed from the Turks, and came under the dominion of the Khiljîs.

*Sultân Alau-d-din.*

\* \* \* \* \*

The Sultan came to Delhi, and encamped on the plain of Salim, and at the close of the year 695 H. entered the city, made the red palace the imperial residence, and distributed largesses. The people gave themselves up to pleasure, and rejoiced in acquiring untroubled wealth, while by these means Alau-d-din firmly secured himself in possession of the throne.

The wife of Sultan Jalau-d-din fled to her son at Multan, and Alau-d-din, considering that the destruction of the family of Jalau-d-din was essentially necessary for his own security, sent 40,000 horsemen to Multan, who invested the fort, and confined them within its walls. The sons were soon taken captive,\* and sent to Delhi, when they were first deprived of their eyes, then imprisoned, and finally murdered, and of their effects were confiscated.

In the year 698 H. the Moghals created great consternation, and the army of Multan being sent against them, put them to flight. Soon after, the Sultan caused all the nobles who had deserted Jalau-d-din to be murdered, and demolished even their houses; but two or three escaped who had adhered to the cause of Jalau-d-din's sons, and had evinced some show of gratitude. These men were pardoned and received into favour, while all the rest were exterminated root and branch.

After this, he dispatched his army on an expedition to Gujrat, and devastated the whole of that province. The Râi of Gujrat, who was then at Narmad, fled to Deogir, with his wives, daughters, treasures, and elephants, which the Hindûs had again seized; and the Râi of Saurashtra, which the Hindûs had again set up after the departure of Sultan Mahmud, was broken, and his fragments sent to Delhi. His generals plundered the superintendents of the fire temples of money, jewels, and every article that was precious, and even exacted from the men in their own camp all the gold, silver, and jewels, which they had acquired as booty, after putting them to various kinds of torture. The consequence was, that they were driven to desperation, and rebelled. The Sultan, who had remained at Delhi, seeing their wives and children, with the cruelty which was natural to him, threw them into prison, and Nusrat Khan, one of his officers, gave their women over to the eunuchs for pollution, and dishing the little children upon the heads of their own mothers, thus barbarously put them to death. From that time commenced the practice at Delhi of making innocent wives and children suffer for the mis-

\* Other authors tell us, that after the city had been invested for two months in seven days, on the condition that the lives of the princes should be spared.—Alau Khan, the king's brother, guaranteeing their security.

deeds of their husbands and parents.—for this barbarous mode of punishment did not prevail before this period

During this year he sent an army against Sewestán, and after conquering the country, the women and children were chained by the neck and feet, and transported to Dehli

At the close of the same year, Kutlugh Khwájah made an inroad into Hindústán with several thousand Moghuls from Mawaráunnahr They marched towards Dehli, creating great alarm and intercepting all communication The Sultán left the city and encamped at Sabzí

\* \* \* \* \*

It is reported that one day when Kází Mughísu-d-dín was sent for, he represented that he knew his end was approaching, "Because," said he, "I must declare what is written in our books, and that may not be palatable to the king" The king said, "Speak the truth and fear not" He then enquired, "From what Hindú is it proper to demand taxes according to the law relating to Zimmís" He replied, "From him who pays the revenue collector with full acquiescence and unhesitating readiness, for, as it is perfectly lawful to slay an infidel, the capitation-tax has been imposed instead of death" The Sultán smiled and said, "You speak according to the written law, but you see my zeal for religion has already induced me without any instruction to treat Hindús in the manner you mention" The Sultán again enquired, "If the public servants are guilty of peculation and embezzlement, is it lawful to treat them as common thieves" The Kází replied, "Provided the servants receive sufficient salaries from the public treasury, if they take more in the way of peculation and embezzlement, they may be treated with the very extreme of severity and torture, but it is not lawful to mutilate them, as that punishment is reserved only for the most heinous offences" The Sultán said, "That is precisely what I do I confiscate all their property of every kind and degree, and throw it into the public treasury I have thus checked their malpractices and perfidy, and shortened the hands of these avaricious people, so that they should not commit frauds upon my exchequer"

\* \* \* \* \*

At the dead of night they brought the remains of Aláu-d-dín out of the palace of Sirí, and buried them in the tomb which he had constructed in his lifetime, near the Manihár masjid After his death, Malik Sábít, called the Káfir, set up as king, for three short months, Shabába-d-dín, youngest son of Aláu-d-dín, though he was only five or six years old, and constituted himself as minister He blinded the two elder brothers of the young prince, and imprisoned all the ladies of the royal household, till at last some of the slaves of Aláu-d-dín, who were in possession of the palace of Hazar-Sitún, murdered him, and relieved the world of his atrocities

*Sultán Kutbu-d-dín Mubárah Sháh.*

He was son of Sultán Aláu-d-dín, and was seventeen years old when he began to reign. He sent Shahábu-d-dín to Gwáliár, and dreading the haughtiness and presumption of the men who had assassinated Malik Sábit, he dispersed them in various directions, putting to death those who professed themselves the leaders, and who assumed too independent a tone for his security, he then gave himself up to pleasure, rioting and debauchery. On the very first day of his accession he released all the culprits imprisoned by his predecessor, amounting to seventeen or eighteen thousand men, and distributed a donation of six months' pay to the whole army. He increased the stipends of the nobles, as well as the pensions and allowances of the learned, and restored to their former possessors many of the villages and lands which had been resumed during the reign of Aláu-d-dín. He ordered also that all the petitions, which had been thrown aside during the preceding reign, should be brought forward, that all grievances should be redressed, and that the people should be relieved of the heavy contributions, fines, and imprisonments, to which they had been subject. In short, he annulled all the rules and regulations of Aláu-d-dín, and the people felt free and happy when relieved of their intolerable oppression and severity. Wealth again began to flow into their purses, and pleasure, revelry, and wine were the order of the day. As a natural consequence, immorality and disregard of religion began to prevail, and although almost the only regulation of Aláu-d-dín which the Sultán maintained, was the prohibition against the drinking of wine, yet as he himself was absorbed in his own pleasures, he set so bad an example to his own subjects, that his precepts were ineffectual. Notwithstanding that Kutbu-d-dín achieved victories, conquered whole countries, and subdued Gujrát, Deogír, and other places, and notwithstanding that wealth and abundance were diffused among the people, yet at last his disposition became soured, and all his excellent qualities were converted into vices.

It was not long before tyranny resumed its reign, and blood began to flow as freely as in the reign of his father. He associated with singers and buffoons, and even insulted the saintly and revered Sheikh Nizámu-l-Hakk. Amidst these manifold sources of rum and calamity, the greatest arose from his affection for a Hindú lad, of the Paráwan caste, whom he named Khusrú Khán, and elevated above the heads of all the nobles in the kingdom. All the remonstrances of his counsellors were of no avail, and he only repeated to his favorite what people said of him, telling him that all his kingdom, his chiefs, his army, were not in his estimation worth a hair of Khusrú Khán's head,—which of course only augmented the pride and insolence of the favorite.

One night when they were at their revels, the ungrateful wretch murdered his patron, and threw his body down from the roof of the Hazár-Sitún. He then ruthlessly massacred all the children, women, slaves, and all the families related to Aláu-d-dín, and utterly exterminated them, so that the vengeance of Almighty God at last overtook Aláu-d-dín for his treacherous murder of Jalálu-d-dín, and it was shown that "we shall all be rewarded according to our deeds."

After this wholesale massacre, Khusrú Khán, by means of his wealth and the assistance of the Hindús, as well as because he had removed all opponents, proclaimed himself Sultán, ascended the throne, lavished the treasures, left by Aláu-d-dín and Kutbú-d-dín, upon the people of the city of all degrees, and assumed an air of royal pride and haughtiness. He increased the state and dignity of his Hindú relations, and of the few Musulmán who adhered to his cause, and took to himself the wife of Aláu-d-dín, before the usual period of mourning had expired. Hindús, during this period, took the women of Musulmán to their houses, and made seats and foot-stools of the sacred volume. They worshipped their idols in mosques, and rejoiced extravagantly throughout the whole country, that Delhi had again become Hindú. For four months, prayers were read for that ungrateful Hindú in the public pulpits, and his vile name was stamped on the coin of the realm.

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### *Sultán Muhammed, son of Tughlak Sháh*

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It was about this time that the whole of the Dúáb became unable any longer to bear up against the grievous rack-renting and oppressive taxes. The people in despair set fire to their barns and stacks, and carrying away their cattle, became wanderers on the wide world. Upon this, the Sultán gave orders that every such peasant who might be seized should be put to death, and that the whole country should be ravaged and given up to indiscriminate plunder. He even himself marched out of the city for that purpose, as if he had been going on a hunting expedition, put to sword all the remaining population, and ordered their heads to be displayed from the battlements of the fort. In this way, he utterly depopulated whole tracts of his kingdom, and inflicted such rigorous punishment, that the whole world stood aghast. In short the cruelties of this tyrant, whom some men call the just, surpass all belief.



### *Gharásu-d-dín Tughlak Sháh.*

Upon the death of king Fíroz, Tughlak Sháh, the son of Prince Fateh Khán, was raised to the throne in the palace of Fírozábád. Having distributed among his nobles the high offices of the empire, he despatched a large army against Sultán Mubammed Sháh, who, after a slight resistance, proceeded from Sirmúr to Suket, whence he fled to Nagarcote, being pursued by the army of Tughlak Sháh.

Under the influence of his youthful passions, Tughlak Sháh gave himself up to debauchery and frivolity, and having but little experience in the concerns of government, thought it incumbent on him to imprison his own brother, Khnrram Arslán Sháh, upon which Abú Bakr, son of Zafar Khán, the son of Sultán Fíroz, actuated by the fear and suspicion arising from the fate of the Prince, took to flight.

Malik Ruknu-d-dín, the Deputy Wazír, and a number of other nobles, having joined Abú Bakr, marched out and put Malik Mabárák Kabir to death, before the entrance of Tughlak Sháh's palace at Fírozábád, and the king, alarmed at the superior power of the rebels, fled with Khán Jehán through the gate facing the Jumná. Malik Ruknu-d-dín pursued and seized him, and putting him and his followers to death, suspended their heads from that gate. "What pleasures are there under the sky? The kid frolics before the butcher's shambles."

This event occurred on the 21st Sufar 791 A. H. Tughlak Sháh reigned six months and eighteen days.

### *Abú Bakr, son of Zafar Khán, son of Sultán Fíroz*

Abú Bakr, after subjugating his enemies, was placed on the throne with the title of Abú Bakr Sháh, and possessing himself of the treasure, retinue and armies of Fíroz Sháh, became all-powerful.

Sultán Muhammed, proceeding from Nagarcote to Sámánah, proclaimed himself king, and commenced collecting an army. The Amír Jadída (Moghul levies) of Sámánah and the owners of lands situated at the foot of the hills, acknowledged his supreme authority. Some of the nobles, deserting Abú Bakr Sháh, did Sultán Muhammed homage, and the Sultán marched well equipped on Dehl from Sámánah, and by the time he reached the environs of that city, he had collected a body of Cavalry to the amount of fifty thousand men. On the 25th Rabíu-l-ákhír 791, A. H. he reached the palace of Jehán-numái.

On the 2nd of Jamadín-l-awwal a battle was fought between the Sultán and Abú Bakar, in which the former sustained a total defeat. Crossing the Jumna with two thousand horse, he entered the Dñáb, and sent back his son, named Humayún Khán, to Sámánah, with orders to collect an army and join him, while he himself continued at Jalesar near the banks of the Jumna.

A fresh army of fifty thousand horse and foot was accordingly raised. In the month of Sha'bán of the same year, Sultan Muhammed marched on Delhi, a second time, and again encountered Abú Bakar Sháh. But Sultan Muhammed's fortune being still unpropitious, he was defeated in this battle likewise. "Though you make the dust of battle rise like columns of smoke, yet will your bravery be unavailing, if fortune does not favour you. If the key is not in your hand, no force will enable you to wrest open the door of victory."

Sultán Muhammed Sháh, still continuing at Jalesar, issued orders to the people of Multán, Lahore, and several other places, directing them to kill the dependants of Fíroz Shah, wherever they might find them. Accordingly, a general massacre and great depredation ensued, roads were closed, travelling ceased, and houses were desolated.

In the month of Muharram 792, A. II Prince Humayún Khán marched out, accompanied by several of the nobles, and laid waste the environs of Delhi, but Abú Bakar Sháh, despatching a force to oppose him, put him to flight.

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### *Sultán Sikander Sháh Lodi*

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About this time the scarcity of corn was so great that the people were relieved of the established zakát.

It is said that one day a Bráhmín declared in the presence of several Muhammedans that the religion of Islam was true, but that his own religion was also true. When this declaration reached the ear of the Doctors, they reported it to the Sultán, and as he was remarkably fond of religious questions and theological controversies, he summoned the learned from various quarters, and invited their opinion on what the Bráhmín had asserted. The learned gave it unanimously as their opinion that he should be imprisoned, and that he should then be desired to embrace Islam, and if he should reject it, that he should be slain. Accordingly, when the Bráhmín was desired to embrace the Muhammedan religion, he refused to do so, and he was put to death. Many other similar instances of his zeal for religion occurred during his reign.

\* \* \* \* \*

In his time, Hindú temples were razed to the ground, and neither name nor vestige of them was allowed to remain. In the city of Mathura no Hindú was allowed to shave his head or beard, and there was not a barber that dared disobey the injunction. He prohibited the procession of the spear of Śálár Mas'ud Ghází, which went every year to Bahraich, and women were not allowed to go on pilgrimages to shrines.

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### *Sultán Ibráhm, son of Sikander Lodí.*

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In his time, corn, clothes, and every kind of merchandize were cheaper than they had ever been known to be in any other reign, except perhaps in the time of Sultán Aláu-d-dín Khiljí,—but even that is doubtful. Moreover, in the time of the latter, the cheapness was occasioned by every kind of interference and oppression, and by a hundred thousand enforcements and punishments, whereas the cheapness of this reign was occasioned by abundant harvests. In the time of Sikandar, also, the markets were very cheap, but still not so much so as in the time of Ibráhm. Ten maunds of corn could be purchased for one Behlolí · five sérs of clarified butter, and ten yards of cloth, could be purchased for the same com. Every thing else was in the same exuberance, the reason of all which was, that rain fell in the exact quantity which was needed, and the crops were consequently abundant, and produce increased ten-fold beyond the usual proportion. The Sultán issued an edict that his chiefs and nobles of every degree should take nothing but corn in payment of rent, and no money was to be taken from the cultivators on any account. Countless quantities of gram accumulated in the several jágirs, and as ready money only was necessary for maintaining the personal expenses of the nobles, they were eager to sell their grain at any price which was procurable. If one offered four maunds for the Behlolí, another, on account of his necessities, or for annoyance, or envy, would offer five, and some even more than that, until at last the abundance of God's blessings reached such a height, that ten maunds would sell for a Behlolí. Gold and silver were only procurable with the greatest difficulty.

A horseman received five tankas a month, and if any one spent a hundred tankas, he might be considered to be possessed of great wealth. If a traveller wished to proceed from Dehli to Agra, one Behlolí would suffice for the expense of himself, his horse, and four attendants, and would even carry them through with all that they could possibly desire.

Sultán Ibráhm, son of Sikander Lodí, reigned eight years.

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*Shere Khán.*

\* \* \* \* \*

In the year 950 H Púran-mal, son of Salhdí, held occupation of the fort of Rálsam, and brought several of the neighbouring Perganahs under subjection. He had a thousand women in his Haram, and amongst them several Musalmánís. After Shere Khán had been sometime engaged in investing the fort, an accommodation was proposed, and it was finally agreed that Púran-mal, with his family, and children, and four thousand Hindús of note, should be allowed to leave the fort unmolested. Several men learned in the law gave it as their opinion that they should all be slain, notwithstanding the solemn engagement which had been entered into. Consequently, the whole army, with the elephants, surrounded Púran-mal's encampment. The Rájpúts fought with desperate bravery, and after killing their women and children, and then burning them, they rushed to battle, and were annihilated to a man.

After that, Shere Khán retired to Karra, and after remaining there sometime, set out on an expedition to Márwár, and at every stage he dug an entrenchment and raised a temporary fortress, advancing with the greatest care and circumspection. Whenever he met with a sandy soil and could not raise a fortress, he piled up a heap of sacks, and constructed a defensible position out of them.

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Shere Khán made the road which now runs from Delhi to Agra, by cutting through jungles, removing all obstacles, and building saráis. Before that time, people had to travel through the Dhiáb between those two places. There was so much security in travelling during his reign, that if a lone woman were to sleep in a sarái with silver and gold about her person, no one would dare to commit theft upon her, and if it ever did so happen that any one lost any property, the Mukaddams of the village, which was the scene of the robbery, were subject to fine, and for fear of its infliction, the Zemíndars used to patrol the roads at night.

Shere Khán founded many cities after his own name, as Sheregarh, Shere-cote, and since the Delhi of Aláu-d-dín's time was far from the river Jumna, he demolished it, and founded a new city on the banks of the river, which exists to this day. He erected also for its defence a broad wall, which the shortness and precariousness of his reign did not admit of his completing.

It is said that once when looking in a glass, he exclaimed, "Alas! that I have attained the empire only when I have reached old age, and when the time for evening prayer has arrived. Had it been otherwise, the world would have seen what I would

have accomplished " Sometimes he would say, by way of showing what difficult and even impossible objects he contemplated, "I would have made a bridge to span the ocean, so that even a widowed and helpless woman might without difficulty perform the pilgrimage to Mecca " To this day there exists a caravansera of his building at Mecca, in which Afghán fakírs reside.

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### *Akber*

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In the year 985, H a magnificent comet appeared on the western horizon, about the time of evening prayer, and there it remained for two hours, exceedingly brilliant, and inspiring great terror. It remained visible for several months, and always appeared at prayer-time When the astrologers were desired to ascertain and report what its appearance portended, they replied, that the effects of that star with long locks would be felt most severely in the countries of Irák and Khorásán, and, true enough, Sháh Ísm'íl, father of Sháh Tahmásp, ruler of Irán, departing this life about that time, went to the land of eternity, and grievous troubles ensued in that country.

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Up to this time, the King used to attend public worship at the five stated times, whether he was in the capital or in camp, and the reciters of the Kurán, who were on the royal establishment, used to read that sacred book both at prayer, and at other times Indeed the King himself used to take the lead in worship

One of the incidents of the year 986 H was the King's abandonment of the national religion, which became a stumbling block to many people weak in the faith The cause of this dereliction was, that the court became the centre of attraction to all sects, persuasions, and people, to the learned of Khorásán, Irák, Máwaráu-n-nahr, and Hindústán, to doctors and theologians, to Shíás and Sunnis, to Christians and Philosophers, to Bráhmíns and professors of every existing religion These all upon hearing not only of the King's affability and condescension, but his superiority to all others in regal dignity and power, as well as in humility, flocked to his presence, and occupying themselves with relations of history and travels, and dissertations about revelations, prophecies, and religions, were perpetually engaged in angry controversies, and as generally happens with confirmed disputants, all were eager to draw others to their own views and persuasions, and passed day and night in "yeaing and naying " As this was the first time that the King had heard these discussions upon past history, customs, and religions of other nations, he was much struck with the novelty. He endeavoured to extract

what was good from the contrary opinions which were expressed, giving the most deliberate attention to all that he heard, for his mind was solely bent upon ascertaining the truth. If some of his companions had their dispositions and sentiments affected by the inherent sin of their nature during these controversies, and became unable to withstand the temptations to apostacy, that is another matter,—love of the world may have actuated them. The king used openly to say in the presence of his officers, doctors and chiefs,—“My sole object, oh! wise Mullas, is to ascertain truth, to find out and disclose the principles of genuine religion, and to trace it to its divine origin. Take care, therefore, that through the influence of your human passions, you are not induced to conceal the truth and say nothing contrary to the almighty decrees. If you do, you are responsible before God for the consequences of your impiety.”

Previous to the time that this address was made, several doctors and theologians of Hindústán, such as Mauláná Abdulláh Sultánpúrí, commonly known as Makhdúmu-l-mulk, and Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí, the Sadar, and others, were constantly present at Court, and received great favours from the king. The two learned men first mentioned were considered the best authorities on all questions pertaining to religion and law, but they frequently held opposite opinions to one another, and expressed themselves in tones of anger and recrimination, so that at last their credit and reputation declined in the king's estimation, and he became indifferent to the religion which they professed. The common people learning day after day something about the nature of the subjects discussed in these assemblages, could so little comprehend the real purpose for which they were held, that they misrepresented the king's object in encouraging them, and entertained suspicions of his motives which were derogatory to his character, and but little deserved.

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One of the wonders of art which was exhibited during this year (A. H. 1003,) was the work of Sayid Hasán Shirázi. He placed a chest before him, and when any one gave him a rupee, he threw it into the chest, and it kept on rolling until it fell into the lowest compartment. Upon this, a parrot which was chained to it began to speak, and two fowls began also to cackle at one another. Then a small window opened, at which a panther put out its head, and let a shell fall from its mouth into a dish which was placed on a lion's head, and the shell then came out of the lion's mouth. A short time elapsed, when another door opened, and another lion came forth, took the shell in its mouth, and retired, and the doors again closed. Two elephants then appeared with perfect trunks, and there were also two figures of men, who sounded trumpets. A rope then thrust itself forward, and again

retreated, of its own accord. Two other men then advanced, and made obeisance. Shortly after, another door opened, and a puppet came forth with an ode of Háfiz in its hand, and when the ode was taken away from the puppet, it retired, and the door was closed. In short, whenever a piece of money was placed in the hands of Hasan Shírází, all these marvels were exhibited. The king first gave a gold mohur with his own hand, and witnessed the sight. He then ordered his attendants to give a rupee each. The odes which were presented were given by the king to Nakíb Khán, by whom they were read out. This exhibition lasted for several nights.

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During the year 1004, H there was a scarcity of rain throughout the whole of Hindústán, and a fearful famine raged continuously for three or four years. The king ordered that alms should be distributed in all the cities, and Nawáb Sheikh Faríd Bokhárí being ordered to superintend and control their distribution, did all in his power to relieve the general distress of the people. Public tables were spread, and the army was increased, in order to afford maintenance to the poor people. A kind of plague also added to the horrors of this period, and depopulated whole houses and cities, to say nothing of hamlets and villages. In consequence of the dearth of grain and the necessities of ravenous hunger, men ate their own kind. The streets and roads were blocked up by dead bodies, and no assistance could be rendered for their removal.

In this year also, the King, while witnessing an antelope-fight, was wounded in the thigh by one of their horns, which penetrated very deep. Great alarm was felt throughout the country, but after retiring for a few days to the inner apartments, and seating himself on the carpet of affliction, he recovered, by the blessing of God, and restored comfort to the hearts of all the worlds.

One of the curiosities exhibited this year was manufactured by the most celebrated physician of the time, Hakím Ali. It filled every beholder with wonderment, however wise he might be. He built a room of about the ordinary breadth and length, to which the only entrance was at the top, by a sort of trapdoor. Nevertheless, over the roof of the room he constructed a reservoir, which remained full of water, and although no one could enter the room except by plunging into the bath,—when upon reaching this single entrance he gained access to the room, which he found furnished by carpets, books, and all the conveniences of a sitting room,—yet no water by any chance ever got into it. It is said that the King one day with some of his private companions got into the room in the way above indicated, and after remaining there some time enjoying their conversation, left it again by the passage through that single trap-door.

The *Zubdatu-t-Tawárikh* of *Núru-l-Hakk* is not uncommon in India. One of the best Manuscripts belongs to Nawwáb Suráju-l-mulk, Minister of Haiderábád.

An examination of four copies shows them to be uniform in the initial lines:—

خطه كندیا و حلال نعام شاهنشاهی سرد كه عالم و هرچه  
در عالم است امیدی اوست و آدم و آدمیان نواخته و برگزیده  
او جهان امیدی كه برآورده آسمان و زمین را و هرچه در آسمان و زمین  
است از ثوابت و سیارات و عناصر و مواید و سائط و مركبات با نظام  
بدیع و محكم و دصعی متین و منن \*

In two copies the last line of the conclusion is omitted:—

و این تعصیل در درك سلطان بهلول نوشته شده است و مدت  
سلطنتش نود سال بود بعد از ان سلطنت سلاطین شریفیه سپری  
شد شش نهم مدت بود و هشت سال پادشاهی كردند و درگذشتند  
و در گرایسان یادگار ماند \*

چه سرها كه شاهان برافراحتند \* در احرگد شتند نگداشتند



## XXVI.

## روضة الطاهرين

## RAUZATU-T-TAHIRÍN

The "Garden of the Immaculate," a general history by Táhir Muhammed bin Imádu-d-Dín Hasan bin Sultán Alí bin Hájí Muhammed Husain Sabzwári. It was commenced A H 1011—A. D. 1602-3,—three years before the death of Akber, and concluded A H. 1015—A. D. 1606-7,—after the accession of Jehángír; and as the year of the Hiyrah 1011 is numerically represented by Rauzat, the author, as he tells us in his preface, has combined that word with his own name, Táhir, to form the fanciful title he has given to his history.

The contents of the work are much the same as those of other general Asiatic histories. It begins with a copious Index, which it is to be regretted other authors have not imitated. It extends to the 45th page, and serves as a chronological table, as it shows how long each sovereign reigned.

The Rauzatu-t-Táhirín is divided into five Books (kism), subdivided into Chapters (báb), and Sections (fasl). Some of these Sections are

more minutely subdivided, not for the mere purpose of showing the author's ingenuity, but because the different Dynasties treated of really required the distinction.

### CONTENTS

Book I—Comprises an account of the creation, forty prophets, twenty-two ancient sages, Persian and Arabic Dynasties before Muhammed, including the Peshidádians, Kaiámans, Ashikámans, Sássámans, and Ghassámans. In three Chapters—from p 45 to 641

Book II—The Khalifas, and the Dynasties which rose under the Abbásides, such as the Tahirides, Samánians, Búvades or Deilemites, Ghaznevídes, Ghoriáns, Karákhitáyans, Seljúkiáns, Atábaks, &c In four Chapters—from p 641 to 826

Book III—The Dynasties of Táatars, Moghuls, and Turks, Othmanlíís of Constantinople, Changuéz Khan, Timúr, and their predecessors and descendants, with several other Dynasties, including the Kará-kúinlí and Ak-kúinlí\* rulers, and the Safví kings of Persia In seven Chapters—from p 826 to 981

Book IV—"On the Rulers of India, previous to the introduction of Muhammedanism, called the Bráhmíns of Hind, who, when troubles and disorganization prevailed, made their appearance, as persons endowed with every excellence, for the regeneration of the country Their appearance is called *Avatár*, of which there have been nine from the beginning of the creation until now, i. e. from the Fish Avatár down to Khrishna Avatár "

Abstract of the Mahabharata and Harbans Purán, the history of the Súrayáns and Chandaráns Rajas, and those who succeeded them In two Chapters and a Conclusion

Book V—The Sultans of India, beginning with the Slave kings and ending with Akber, and an account of his contemporaries, comprising fourteen nobles, fifty-seven poets, twenty-four doctors and philosophers, the rulers of Sind, Multán, Cashmír, Guzerát, Malwa, Deccan, Jaunpúr, and Bengal, the wonders of the world, including an account of Ceylon Pegu, Arracan, Cúch Behar and Portugal In four Chapters—from p 981 to 1200

SIZI—Folio, 1200 pages, containing 23 lines in a page

\* Respecting the orthography of these names see above, p 137 It might have been added that Briggs gives it as Koovimloo, (*Perishta*, III 341) which Hammer-Purgstall characterizes as being "in accordance with his usual perverse method of spelling" (*Jahrbucher*, No li p 56)

It will appear, therefore, that Book V. or about one-sixth of the entire work, is devoted to India; but as it contains in that portion little that is not equally well told elsewhere, it is not of much value, except as a useful compendium. It is unfortunate that the only useful portion of this Book, namely, the third Chapter on Indian Biographies, is not included in the Volume. A more serious hiatus occurs in the exclusion of the whole of Book IV., though there is no break in the paging. This, as well as the biographical portion, may form separate Volumes, or may, perhaps, not have been written, for they are not included in two copies which I have consulted.

The work is most copious in the legendary history of Persia, which is contained in Book I, comprising more than half the entire Volume.

The chief authorities quoted in the work are the *Rauzatu-s-safā*, *Tārīkh-i-guzída*, *Lubbu-t-tawárikh*, *Tārīkh-i-nizamí*, and the *Bahmannáma*; and from these, several Chapters are copied verbatim.

#### EXTRACTS

Sultán Mu'izzu-d-dín Muhammed Sâm Ghorí led his army into Gujrát, and in the first action overthrew Rai Bhoj Deo. In a second engagement between them, the Rái succeeded in defeating the Sultán, but in a third which ensued, Sultán Mu'izzu-d-dín completely routed his antagonist, and captured from him numerous elephants, together with all his regal equipage and property. On his return from Gujrát, he besieged Khusrú Malik, the Ghaznevide, in Lahore, and took from him some elephants and treasure.

Next year he marched his troops in the same direction, and entirely subdued Lahore, and appointing his own deputies to govern it, returned to Ghazní.

In India he captured several forts, such as those of Sialkot and Sirhind, and garrisoned them with his own men. Next season Sultán Mu'izzu-d-dín made another expedition into India, and killed Rájá Pithaura in a single action. He left Sultán Kutbu-d-dín Eibek, one of his favorite slaves, in the fort of Kohram, and returned to Ghazní.

The following year, the Sultán came again to India, and proceeded to Canauj, the Rájá of which place he reduced, took possession of three hundred elephants, and appointed Sultán Kutbu-d-dín viceroy at Delhi.

\* \* \* \* \*

Sultán Mu'izzu-d-dín soon after turned his attention towards reducing some disaffected Khokar chiefs, who had revolted on the confines of Lahore, during the Sultán's absence. Thence he advanced to Lahore, and recaptured the hills of Sewalik from the Zemindars, and having ordered his army to Delhi under the command of Kutbu-d-dín Eibek, he left Lahore to return to Ghazní, but was assassinated at Damek on his way, in the month of Sha'bán, 602, A. H. by some Khokars who had vowed to accomplish this object. Sultán Mu'izzu-d-dín's reign lasted four years.

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Sultán Muhammed A'dil*

In the year 961, H. Sultán Muhammed Ádil ascended the throne. He favoured many of the chiefs of his army, and promoted their interests, he summoned to his presence Mian Ma'rúf, the adoptive father of Selím Khán, but Mian Ma'rúf prayed to be excused, the king then ordered Mian Shah Muhammed, and his grandson Sekander, to attend, on their obeying His Majesty's commands, Sarmast Khan intimated to them that the Sultan had been pleased to dispossess them of their jágir of Canauj, and to confer it on himself, and recommended them to solicit of the king another jágir instead. On hearing this, Sekander inquired of His Majesty the reason why he and Shah Muhammed had been deprived of the jágir which had been so long in their possession, and of its being bestowed on such a low dog-seller as Sarmast Khan. This reflection on his origin having exasperated Sarmast, he looked for an opportunity when he might assassinate Sekander without being observed, but the latter perceiving Sarmast's design, stabbed him with a dagger, and then ran towards the king, who fled into the inner apartments of the palace. In the confusion that ensued the attendants of His Majesty also sought safety by flight. It is said that Mulla M. Judd-din, one of the ministers, was so bewildered by this tragedy that was acting around him, that he got upon a wall, taking it for a horse, and began to dig his heels into it and urge it on. Sekan-

der observed his strange attitude, and exclaimed, "Be not afraid, you, are quite safe" Skander Khán then put several other amírs to death, but Ibráhím Khán Súr, with some others, furiously assaulted him, and despatching him with their swords and lances, sent him to the world of non-entity On the death of Sháh Muhammed and his sons, Daulat Khán Lohání became so wealthy that, in imitation of Sultán Muhammed Tughlak Sháh, he used to fill little vessels with pieces of gold and silver, and disperse them in different directions, and whoever was fortunate enough to secure one of these vessels, received the sum of 500 Tankas from the royal treasury on presenting it \*

The nobles and officers of the army, finding Sultán Muhammed totally neglectful of the administration of the country, assumed independence Hemún, by caste a Banía, inhabitant of Rewárá having ingratiated himself with the monarch, was appointed commander-in-chief of his army, and Shamsheer Khán, a slave of Sher Khán, was invested with the title of Daulat Khán Táý Khán Kerání, with Imád and Sulaimán his brothers, revolted against the Sultán, and fled from Gwáhlár towards Behár and Bengál. Sultán Muhammed Adalí being informed of their proceedings, detached some forces to pursue them closely They came to action near Canauj, where Táý Khán was defeated, and fled towards Chunnár, and shut himself up in that exceedingly strong fortress Hemún, accompanied by a large army, and well supplied with elephants, crossed the river Ganges, besieged Chunnár, took it by storm, and fully established the Sultán's power by these repeated successes

About this time, Ibráhím Khán, son of Ghází Khán Súr, cousin and brother-in-law of Adalí, took alarm and fled to Búána Sultán Muhammed despatched Isa Khán Nází to chastise him, an action ensued in the vicinity of Kalpí, in which Isa Khán Nází was completely defeated Ibráhím Khán then repaired to Dehli, where he ascended the throne, assumed the title of Sultán Ibráhím Sháh, coined money in his own name, and extended his authority over several towns and districts near the capital

In consequence of this rebellion, Sultán Muhammed Adalí was compelled to suspend his expedition against the Kerámians, and marched, without a halt, to the banks of the Jumna, where he encamped Ibráhím Khán sent a message to say, that if the Sultán would send Hasan Jalwaní, and Pahár Khán Shirwání, commonly called A'zam Humayún, with some other nobles, to

\* Other authors say that arrows tipped with precious metal were dispersed and paid for at the above value, and with much more probability they ascribe the extravagant folly to Muhammed Adil, whose ignorance and absurdity obtained for him the nickname of Adalí (the foolish)

ensure him a safe conduct, he would come and consult regarding the terms of a treaty of peace. They were accordingly sent, and upon their swearing that Ibráhím Khán should be well treated, he left the city, and encamped opposite to Adeli who taking alarm at Ibráhím's means of resistance, broke up his camp, and went off.

Meanwhile, the Jágírdárs of the Panjáb, such as Tatár Khán Káshí and Haibat Khán, set up Nasib Khán, brother-in-law of Adeli, as king, with the title of Sultán Sekander, and marched with the intention of opposing Sultán Ibráhím, but on arriving near Farrah, twenty miles from Agra, they became alarmed at the strength of the enemy, and made proposals of accommodation, to the effect that Sekander should rule the Panjab, and that all the rest of Hindústan, from the borders of Sirhind and Dehli, should remain with Ibráhím. But Ibráhím would not listen to these terms, and trusting his fortune to the chance of war, was defeated, and fled to Sambal, when the provinces of Agra and Dehli came into Sekander's possession.

It was about this time, that Nasíru-d-dín Muhammed Humayún arrived at Lahore from Cábul. Upon which Sekander hastened towards Lahore, and being defeated by the Moghul troops, fled to the hills.

Of the few copies which I know of this history, one is in the possession of Sháhizáda Muzá Ghulám Fakhr-u-d-dín Bahádar, son of the king of Dehli, the second is in the Asiatic Society's Library, containing only the three first Books; the third is in the Library of Nawwáb Saájju-l-mulk, minister of Haiderábád, labelled with the name of Táríkh-i-Táhirí, under which it is often quoted by those authors who have consulted the work. There is also one at Mirat, and one in the Moti Mahall Library at Lakhnau.

Major Stewart mentions it in his Catalogue,\* but though he divides it into five Books, it is evident from his table of contents that his Volume comprises only the three first Books.

\* *Descriptive Catalogue of Tippoo Sultan's Library*, p. 6

M Fraehn classes the Rauzatü-t-Tâhirin amongst his desiderata \*

The Rauzatu-t-Tâhirin commences with the words .—

بعد از حمد باری سبحانه و تعالیٰ صلوة با محمود و درود غیر  
معدود بدان مظهر حود صاحب مقام محمود محمد صلی الله  
علیه و سلم و علی آله و اصحابه اجمعین که هر یک عقده کشای  
دین و پیسرای راه یقین \*

It concludes thus, after an expression of thanks to God, that the author had been allowed to bring his laborious task to completion :—

بظم  
ای فرارنده این چرخ بلند وی نوارنده دکهای درند  
در دولت برحم نکشادی تاج عرب سرم بدهادی  
حد من نیت ثنایت گفتن گوهر شکر عطایت سفتن  
نعم و شکر نعم هر دو رتست بشود حر نتوان کار درست  
شکر گویان ترا چرم زبان یک نوالیست ارب حوان بدهان  
دارم امید که این طرفه کلام که چون عقده گهراید بظام  
نماید رمده کاری غیب پیش ارباب هنر دور رعیب  
لطف بیعایت اصحاب کرم کند اصلاح حلهای قلم  
حق سبحانه که بر آورنده مقاصد و مطالب است همگان را  
ارکدورات روزگار در امان داشته عاقبت امور را محمود و معمود  
گرداند سنده و کمال کرمه \*

## XXVII

## منتخب التواريخ

MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWARIKH

This common title has been bestowed upon his General History, by Hasan bin Muhammed al-Khákí al-Shírází, who came to India in the time of Akber, and obtained different offices under the government. He tells us, that from his early youth he imbibed a great taste for historical literature, which was so much increased on his arrival in India, "the abode of security," that he determined to write a work, which should embrace in one volume an account of the Prophets, Saints, Sultáns, Philosophers, Poets, and Wazírs. He has certainly fulfilled his intention as far as comprehensiveness goes, for he includes in it all the known Dynasties of Asia, but the separate biographies, except of the Prophets and Sultáns, seem to have been overlooked. The compilation is of little use to the Indian historian

His authorities are many and good; some of them not to be found without difficulty in these days. He mentions the *Rauzatu-s-salá*, *Habíb-u-s-siyar*, *Mujmal Fasílí*, *Ibn Khallíkan*, *Jehán-kusháí*, *Tárikh-i-Rashidí* of *Mirzá Haider Cash-*



mírí, Akbernáma, Táríkh-i-Nízámí, Táríkh-i-Fíroz-sháhí of Zíya Barní, Tabakát-i-Násirí, Táríkh-i-Binákati, Jehán-ará, and Táríkh-i-Abú-l-fazl Behakí. He states that he commenced the work before the close of Akber's reign, and completed it in the 5th year of Jehángir's, A.H. 1019—A. D. 1610-11—in which year, as he tells us at the close of his history, he was appointed Diwán of Patna.

The work consists of various detached histories, not divided, with the usual display of minute accuracy, into Books, Chapters, and Sections.

#### CONTENTS

The Prophets —Ancient Persian Kings —Kings of Bábil and Assyria —Israelites —Yúnán —Himvarites —Yemen —Ghassán —Hyrá —Turkish Kings from Japhet —Tátárs —Moghuls —Muhammed and the first Khalífas —Imáms —Ummayyides —Abbásides —Táhirites —Aghlabites —Túlúmites —Ikhshídites \*—Hamadánites —Saffárians —Sámánians —Alpteginites —Ghazmídes —Atábaks —Obaydites —Khawárazm-sháhís —Ghorians and kings of Dehli —Aiyúbites —Kings of the Arabs —Rulers of Turkistán before Changez Khán —Changez Khán and his descendants —Various Rulers of Persia, Ikhánians, &c &c —Various Rulers of India, viz Deccan —Gujrát —Málwa —Khándes —Bengal —Jaunpúr —Cashmír —Sind —Multán —Othmanlies of Constantinople —Gúrgámians —Báber —Humayún —Akber —Jehángir —Safí kings of Persia

SIZE.—Small Folio, containing 884 pages of 17 lines each, but the codex is here and there defective, and the history of the Safí, Súfí, or Saffaví kings of Persia, mentioned in the copious table of contents, occupying nearly six pages of the preface, is not bound up with this volume. A note in the beginning of the volume states that it contains 522 folios, which was probably the correct number before the abstractions.

\* For an account of these Dynasties, see M. de Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, Tom. III pp. 124—154.

Of the portions relating to India, the history of the Ghaznavides occupies from fol 86 verso to 90 v ;—the ancient history of the Ghorians, and the kings of Delhi, from Shahábu-d-din to Ibráhím bin Sekander Lodí, from fol 141 recto to 157 v. ;—the minor Dynasties of India, from 262 v. to 344 r. ; of which Gujrát occupies 18 folios, and Cashmír 20. The account of Baber begins at fol. 372 r., Humayún 373 r, Akber 385 v and Jehángír 437 v

In these latter portions he has been very particular with regard to his dates, his official duties having probably taught him the value of correctness in such matters; for in the two short extracts which follow, we find him at one time a paymaster, and at another a revenue accountant

#### EXTRACTS

On the 5th of Shehrivur 1003 A H, Muzaffer Husain Mirzá, son of Sultán Husain Mirza, son of Bahrám Mirza Safi, arrived from his Jágir of Kandhár, at the Court of the emperor Akber, and was appointed an Amír of 5000 The Sirkar of Sambhal was assigned to him in Jagir, and Kandhár to Shah Beg Khan Cabulí

On Saturday the 9th of Safar 1004, A H Sheikh Farzí, "the chief of poets," died He was born on the 1st of Sha'bán 954, A H The year 1004, A H was marked also by the death of Hakim Humam, brother of Hakim Abú-l-fateh, and by Prince Shah Murad's conquest of Berar, a province of the Deccan within the government of Nizam-ul-mulk On the 18th of Murradd of this year, a deer gored the emperor and caused a severe wound The pain was very excruciating for twenty-nine days, and his danger created a sensation throughout Hindústan, until he was cured Rya Ali Khan, ruler of Khandes, was slain in battle this year in the Deccan, where he was present with the royal army

In the year 1005, A H a tent, which was pitched in the palace on the occasion of the festival of Nauroz, caught fire, and the articles collected there, according to custom on such occasions, were consumed by the flames On the 21st Farvardín, the emperor proceeded on an excursion to Cashmir, where he sojourned

for three months and twenty days His Majesty afterwards came back to Lahore, and sent Prince Dáníál to Allahábád, to assume charge of the government of that Súba He was honored with a Mansab of 1000, and Kalíj Khán was appointed his private tutor In this year, Mirzá Rustam, son of Prince Sháh Murád, died at Lahore, aged three years and three months

On the 17th of Shehriyúr 1006, A. H. the emperor appointed Rái Hardás to act as a minister conjointly with Khwájah Shamsu-d-dín

On the 23rd Abán of this year, Minúchíhr Beg, with five hundred Kazilbásh horse, waited upon the emperor at Lahore, as an ambassador from Sháh Abbás, accompanied by Mír Zíáu-l-mulk, who had been sent to Sháh Abbás by the emperor on a mission, in company with Yádgár Sultán

On the 26th of this month, the emperor left Lahore for Agra, with the view of expediting the conquest of the Deccan

On the 22nd of Úrdíbehisht, prince Sháh Murád died in the Deccan On the 2nd of the month Míhr, prince Dáníál was sent to subdue the Deccan In the latter part of this year, Ásaf Khán was honored with the post of a chief Díwán

On the 6th of Míhr 1007, A. H. the emperor, having placed Agra under the protection of Kalíj Khán, marched towards the Deccan. Sultán Selím was sent to Ajmír, accompanied by Rájá Mán Sing and Sháh Kulí Khán Muharram, to chastise the Amírs under the Ráná of Udípur In this year, the emperor granted Gujrát in Jágír to Khán A'zam, and deputed the eldest son of Khán A'zam to settle the affairs of that province The writer of this history was sent from the neighbourhood of Dípálpúr, to take charge of the office of paymaster at Gujrát

In 1008, A. H. Khwájah Shamsu-d-dín, who, after the march of the emperor to Agra, had been appointed to the office of the Díwán of the Panjáb, expired In the same year, prince Selím, who had been directed to chastise the Ráná of Udípur, assumed the title of king, when he reached the neighbourhood of Allahábád, plundered the treasury of Behár which contained three lacs of rupees, and resumed all the Jágírs which had been bestowed upon the servants of the Court

\* \* \* \* \*

On Sunday the 14th of Safar 1019, A. H. an individual of the name of Kutb, born in Újah of Multán, and who, by styling himself Sultán Khusrú, had gained over a considerable number of lawless Ujení Rúpúts to make common cause with him, entered the city of Patna and made himself master of it, as well as of its fort, in consequence of the absence in Gorakhpúr of the Governor of Behár, named Afzal Khán, son of Sheikh Abú-l-fazl. The treasure which was in the fort was distributed among his troops Afzal Khán, on learning these circumstances, made forced marches, and on Friday the 19th Safar, reached the banks of the

Punpun, eight miles from Patna Kutb, with the design of forcing him to an engagement, came out of the city, and a bloody battle ensued, in which Kutb was defeated. He then fled and sought safety within the fort, which at length fell into the hands of the governor, when Kutb was taken prisoner and put to death, on Sunday the 21st of Safar.

After a month, orders were issued by the emperor, directing that Ilyás Bahádar, Ináyet Beg Díwán, Sheikh Hasam of Benares, and several others who had dastardly fled from Patna, although the protection of that city had been committed to their charge by Afzal Khán, should be paraded on asses all the way to Agra, with their heads and beards entirely shorn off, and dressed in female apparel.

The writer of this history was at this time sent to Patna, the Díwání of that place having been conferred on him.

On the 8th of Zíka'dáh 1019, A. H. Khán A'zam, at the head of twelve thousand horse, was despatched on an embassy to Sháh Abbás.

This work is very rare. I know of only one copy extant, and that of some antiquity, in the Motí Mahall library at Lakhnau.

The initial lines are —

ربان فلم وقلم ربانرا قدرت وقوت ان كفا است كه وصف لبيچونى  
دات لے انتہا وقادر توانا كه عقل كلل اثر كمال حيرت در بحر  
تفكر عوطہ حوزہ تواند كرد \*

The concluding lines of the single Manuscript consulted are as follows; but the work, as before observed, is defective —

مسود اوراق را بديو اے انصوبه سرقرار نموده مرحص ساختند و  
بتاريخ هشتم ربيع قعدة سنه تسع عسرة والحق اعظم را نادرده  
هزار سوار به شاه عباس از راني داشت \*

## XXVIII

## تاریخ فرشته

## TARIKH-I-FERISHTA

This work is by common consent, and not undeservedly, considered superior to all the other General Histories of India. The author, Muhammed Kásim Hindú Sháh, surnamed Ferishta, was born at Asterábád, on the borders of the Caspian Sea, about A D 1570.\* His father, a learned man, by name Ghulám Alí Hindú Sháh, left his native country, when our author was very young, and travelled into India. He eventually reached Ahmednagar in the Deccan, during the reign of Murtiza Nízám Sháh, and was appointed to instruct Mírán Husain, the son of Murtiza, in the Persian language; but he died soon after this selection, and Ferishta was left an orphan in early youth.

The introduction which his father's acquirements had procured for him at Court, secured for the son the favour and patronage of Murtiza Nízám Sháh, so that we find him the

\* This is according to the opinion of his translator, General Briggs, but M Jules Mohl adduces a good reason for the probability of his having been born 20 years earlier, or A D. 1550.—*Journal des Savants*, 1840, p 213.

confidential counsellor of his sovereign, and holding the office of Captain of the Guard, on the day that the king was deposed by Prince Mirán Husam, although he was then only sixteen or seventeen years of age \* He would have met the same fate as all the rest of the king's attendants, had not the prince recognized him, and personally interposed to save his life

When Mirán Husam was himself deposed and murdered, in less than a year after this event, Ferishta appears to have taken no active part in the troubles and revolutions which ensued. As he was a Shíá, his religious persuasions were an obstacle to his acquiring any influence at a Court, where the Sunní was the predominant doctrine; and he not long after quitted Ahmednagar, and proceeded to Bījápúr, where he arrived, according to his own statement, in the year 1589, and was kindly received by the regent and minister, Diláwar Khán, by whom he was presented to Ibráhím Adil Sháh, the reigning monarch. It was not apparently till after the flight of the regent, that he was again introduced at the Court of Bījápúr, by Inayet Khán of Shíráz. This occurred about the year 1593. The king, who had up to this period shown him no particular favour, received him graciously, and presented to him a copy of the *Rauzatü-s-safa*, remarking that no competent person had hitherto written a general history of

\* The importance of the post he occupied would seem to show, that A. D. 1550 is a more probable date than 1570 for his birth

the Muhammedans in India, except Nízám-u-d-dín Bakhshí, and that his work was too brief and imperfect, especially as concerned the Deccan. The king at the same time enjoined him to supply the deficiency, and to avoid the falsehoods and flatteries which had always disfigured works of that nature. Previous to his introduction by Inayet Khán, he seems to have been engaged in a military capacity, for he speaks of his being wounded and taken a prisoner by Jamál Khán, the usurper of Ahmednagar,—but into the details of this there is no occasion to enter.

He shortly after effected his escape, and spent nearly the whole of the remainder of his life in high honour at the Court of Ibráhím Adíl Sháh, devoting his leisure to the composition of his history. He speaks little of himself after this occurrence, but in A. D. 1504, he escorted the princess Begam Sultána from Bījápúr to Ahmednagar, was present at her nuptials with Prince Dáníál Mírzá at Mungí Paitan, and attended her as far as Búrhánpúr in Khándes, the capital of her husband's government.

After his return to Bījápúr, he was deputed on a mission to the emperor Jehángír, for the purpose, as General Briggs, with great probability supposes, of conveying his sovereign's condolence on the death Akber, and his congratulations on Jehángír's accession to the throne of the most potent empire in the east. Ferishta overtook the Court of Jehángír near Lahore, on its route to Cashmír, in the year

1606 He probably took a circuitous route on his return, for we find him speaking of Rohtás in Behár, as being the strongest fortress he had seen in India During his travels, which at one time reached even to Badakhshán, he must of course have extended his observation, and amassed the materials which were made use of in his history

The date of his death is altogether unknown Briggs supposes that it occurred in 1612, making him only forty-one years of age M J. Mohl supposes him to have revised his work up to at least 1623, making his age not less than seventy-three

The work is divided into an Introduction, twelve Chapters, and a Conclusion

### CONTENTS

Introduction—Upon the Hindús, and the progress of early Muhammedanism in India pp 5—30

Book I—The kings of Ghazni and Lahore pp 31—91

II—The kings of Delhi pp 92—517

III—The kings of the Deccan, in six Chapters—(1) Kalburga, (2) Bījápúr, (3) Ahmednagar, (4) Tilanga, (5) Berar, (6) Bidar pp 518—730, and Vol II pp 1—349

IV—The kings of Gujrát pp 350—460

V—The kings of Málwa pp 460—541

VI—The kings of Khándes pp 541—568

VII—The kings of Bengál and Behár pp 568—603

IX—The rulers of Sind pp 625—639

X—The kings of Cashmír pp 640—700

XI—An account of Malibár pp 700—710

XII—An account of the Saints of India pp 710—786

Conclusion—An account of the climate and geography of India pp 786—892

SIZE—Folio, in two Volumes Vol I comprising 730 pages, and Vol II. 892 pages, each containing 20 lines



The introduction gives a very imperfect view of Indian History previous to the Muhammedan invasion, and may be considered of equal value and authenticity with the first ten Books of Livy, or Dr. Henry's first volume of the History of Great Britain, based on the poems of Ossian. Most of the other Indian Historians have followed in his wake, and not one of them has yet attempted any thing like a critical account of this dark period. Dynasties and races are confounded, in order to form an unbroken series of kings: but it is possible that some of the synchronisms between Persian and Indian heroes may be derived from traditionary poems or some ancient records, now unknown.

The value of the work commences from the Muhammedan period, the history of which he has compiled from the best sources available.

The author states in his preface that he is indebted for his materials to thirty-five different Histories, but he has quoted in the body of his work several more, besides those he has enumerated, and such conscientious and excellent use has he made of his predecessors, so entirely has he exhausted all the prominent facts mentioned by them, that they have been rendered almost useless to any but the most anxious and attentive student of Indian History, who may hope here and there to glean something of interest which Ferishta may have overlooked. Hence it is with great difficulty that any MSS. of those authorities are now procurable. He is also free from prejudice

and partiality ; he does not even flatter the prince in whose reign he lived ; and though not entirely without sectarian bitterness when noticing Saiyids, and though not exempt from Muhammedan bigotry, when speaking of the wholesale massacres of the defenceless Hindús, he is more divested of that feeling than any other author of his own religious creed, who recounts similar atrocities.

Dow, indeed, has observed of him, that “ he seems as much divested of religious prejudices, as he is of political flattery or fear . He never passes a good action without conferring upon it its own reward of praise, nor a bad one, let the villainous actor be never so high, without stigmatizing it with infamy ”\* But some of the few extracts which follow will show that this indiscriminate praise requires to be received with some qualification

This History is styled by the author himself *Gulshan-i-Ibráhímí* and *Nawrasnáma* The former name is derived from the king to whom it was dedicated, and hence it is frequently quoted under the name of *Tárikh-i-Ibráhímí* The latter name was given to it in commemoration of the new Capital, *Nauras*, which his patron, *Ibráhím Adíl Sháh*, commenced building in the year 1599.

*Ferishta* presented the first draught of his history to *Ibráhím Adíl Sháh* in A D 1606, but it is evident that during the rest of his life he was engaged in revising it, and even

\* *History of Hindustan*, Preface, p vii

adding whole chapters, where it was deficient. It is supposed by General Briggs that, as the existence of Portuguese factories at Surat in A. D. 1611, is one of the last things mentioned he completed the work about that period, and shortly after died: but he enters into a detailed description of Āsīr in A. D. 1614-15.\* and there seems even reason to suppose that he mentions an event of a date even ten years subsequent to that.†

The first and second Books, giving an account of the Dehli Emperors down to Akber was translated by Col. A. Dow in 1768. in such a manner as to make Gibbon, with his usual critical sagacity, suspect, that through some odd fatality the style of Ferishta had been improved by that of Ossian, and complain of its not being "easy in his florid text, to distinguish the version and the original."‡ Of his own work, Dow says: "The translator, being sensible of the impropriety of poetical diction in the grave narration of historical facts, has in many places clipped the wings of Ferishta's turgid expressions, and reduced his metaphors into common language, without, however, swerving in the least from the original meaning of the author."§

But he has so interwoven his own remarks with those of the author, that it is sometimes difficult to separate them, and in such a manner

\* *Ferishta, L. 15 Text*, Vol. II. p. 567.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 568.

‡ *Discourse and Fall*, Vol. X. pp. 312, 332.

§ *History of Hindostan*, Preface, p. ix.

too as sometimes to convey an entirely different meaning from that which Ferishta intended. His orthography is exceedingly loose and inaccurate, and some of the commonest sentences are misunderstood.

In favor of Dow, it is to be remembered, that this was one of the first works translated by an Englishman into Persian, that its publication gave an impulse to the study of that language, that the means of acquiring a full knowledge of it were difficult, and that the florid diction was occasionally used to gloss and embellish an imperfect comprehension of the original. In his third volume he leaves Ferishta, and abstracts several histories of a later period.

In 1786, Mr. Anderson published in the *Asiatic Miscellany* the text and translation of the eleventh Book. The History of the Deccan has been well translated by Captain Jonathan Scott, but not with such exactness as to merit the reputation he has acquired. His work was published at Shrewsbury in two volumes, 4to. in 1794, and has been republished in London in 4to and 8vo. The first is devoted to Ferishta. The second contains the annals of Aurangzebe's reign, and an account of the decline of the monarchy, which will be more particularly noticed hereafter, in the third volume. The names of Ferishta and his translator have been most amusingly combined by M de la Richarderie into *Jonathan Schof Heistal* \*

\* *Biblioth des Voyages*, Tom V p 76

But the translation of the entire work by General Briggs, in 4 Vols. 8vo. 1829, has thrown others into the shade, and is by far the most valuable store-house of facts connected with the Muhammedan Dynasties of India, which is accessible to the English reader. He has added also some valuable Appendices. and filled up some of the histories deficient in the original. As the author says that he had failed in procuring any written accounts of the Kutb-sháhí, Imád-sháhí and Beríd-sháhí Dynasties, the translator has supplied an Appendix to the history of the kings of Golconda. which extends to 147 pages. He has given also a chronological epitome of the wars of the Portuguese in India, as connected with the history of the Deccan, tables of comparative chronology, an alphabetical list of the proper names titles, and oriental words. with explanations attached, an alphabetical list of names of countries, mountains, rivers, and towns and interspersed several valuable notes throughout the work.

He has, however, omitted the history of the Saints of Hindústán, forming the twelfth Book of the original. which, though containing little historical information. gives a good idea of the general sentiments, legends, and superstitions current in India, respecting the doctrines, studies, penances, miracles, and follies of the Saints of the Indian Calendar. Some of them indeed have played no inconsiderable part in the history of their respective periods by their counsels and by the spiritual influence they exercised

over the princes, who were then obedient disciples or devoted admirers

There are, also, other omissions of a more important character. A few passages have been taken from the single reign of Fīroz Sháh, to illustrate the difference which is found to prevail between the translation and the original. It arises, partly, from his having sometimes followed Scott and Dow without alteration, but, chiefly, from his having used one of the early editions of A H 1020, for translation, and not having availed himself of the many additions which were made by the author up to the latest period of his life. If a new edition of the first translation would not be too arduous a task for the accomplished translator, a supplementary volume of additions and corrections, derived from the lithographed text, would be very desirable; for though they may be of no importance to the general reader, they are essential to be known to the scholar, for the purpose of critical enquiry, and to enable him to dispense altogether with the original, which, with the present translation, admirable as it is in other respects, he cannot do. Some of the additional passages in these few Extracts contain relations of facts, and names of men, titles, and places, which are of no inconsiderable importance to the correct understanding of Indian history.

The translation of General Briggs has been reviewed in the Vienna *Jahrbucher*, by J Von

Hammer.\* The review is somewhat uncandid, for it takes little notice of the merits of the work, and confines itself principally to censures upon its "monstrous orthography and erroneous calculation of dates" Of the latter, he adduces several, which certainly evince a want of care, or, what is more probable, the use of a set of incorrect tables; but of the former the system is not by any means so faulty, as to deserve the epithet of "monstrous." The translator explains his own system in the Preface, and he has adhered to it closely. It is far superior to any which had hitherto been used for a work of equal extent Every name is so written as to show that the translator knew how the original was spelt, which certainly cannot be said for Dow, or for most Oriental translators,—so written, as to enable any scholar to write the original word correctly,—and so written, moreover, as not to mislead the ignorant reader as to the correct pronunciation It is to be remembered, also, that the translation was meant for Englishmen, and that any Englishman not versed in Oriental Literature would run less chance of error in pronouncing the words written in this translation, than he would in pronouncing words written according to the most systematic method, adapted to please the eyes of critics and scholars

If we take some of the words selected by the reviewer, many of them marked as monstrous

\* *Jahrbücher*, No 11 pp. 36—58.

with notes of admiration, we shall be able to judge of the propriety of his strictures For *Kutbeddin*, says the reviewer, the translator writes Kootb-ood-deen ! For *Alaeddin*, Alla-ood-deen ! For *Gharaseddin*, Gheias-ood-deen ! For *Mesud*, Masaoood For *Ibek*, Eibuk. For *Dikhen*, Deccan For *Gudschinat*, Guzerat For *Dschihangu*, Jehangir. For *Abu-nassr*, Aboo-nusr For *Teidschumet Jemni*, Turjooma Yemni

These are taken from two pages\* only, the italics representing the reviewer's system and, really, to people who have ears and eyes, setting aside whether they are Englishmen or not, the reviewer's corrections show to little advantage Where we have *dsch* to represent *j*, no one can complain if we have *oo* to represent *u*, or *e*,—as the reviewer writes it, with decided incorrectness ; or *ma* for *met*, which though perhaps correct in writing, is most certainly incorrect in pronunciation These petty cavillings are unworthy of one of the most distinguished Orientalists of the Continent, but they are not confined to our translator—the profoundest scholars of the world have not escaped his critical reprehensions, which he sometimes lavishes with a most unsparing hand, and very often on the most trifling lapses of spelling, version, or punctuation

If any one wishes to see more on this subject, let him consult the “many hundred proofs of

\* *Jahrbucher*, No 11 pp 38, 39



the reviewer's own gross ignorance" by Diez,\* and read the two and twenty illustrious names, adduced by Fallmerayer, which our critic has "handled with remarkable severity."†

The translation has also been reviewed by M Jules Mohl, but in an impartial and critical spirit, and in a series of articles replete with information on the subjects discussed in them. His biography of Ferishta is the fullest and most correct which we have, being derived not from the translation, but the original subsequently lithographed at Bombay, to which he has devoted the chief portion of his able review

While he gives their due meed of credit to all the translators, he very fairly exposes the defects in each of them, and shows how worthy he himself is to undertake a faithful translation of the whole work ‡

#### EXTRACTS

Mahmud having thus settled his affairs in India, returned in the autumn to Ghuzny, where he remained during the winter. In the spring of the year A H 399—A D 1008—he determined again to attack Anundpal, Raja of Lahore, for having lent his aid to Dawood, during the late defection in Multan. Anundpal, hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindustan, who now considered the expulsion of the Mahomedans from India as a sacred duty. Accordingly, the Rajas of Ujem, Gwahar, Kalunjar, Canauj, Dehli, and Ajmur, entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces, advanced towards Panjab with the greatest army that had yet taken the field. The Indians and Mahomedans arrived in sight of each other on a plain, on the confines of the province of Peshawur, where they remained encamped forty days

\* *Unfug and Betrug in der morgenlandischen Litteratur nebst vielen hundert Proben von der groben Unwissenheit, &c &c* Halle und Berlin, 1815

† *Gelehrte Anzeigen*, Vol IX Coll 531, 532

‡ *Journal des Savants*, 1840 pp 212—226, 354—372, 392—403

without coming to action. The troops of the idolaters daily increased in number. The Hindu females, on this occasion, sold their jewels, and melted down their golden ornaments (which they sent from distant parts), to furnish resources for the war, and the Gukkurs, and other warlike tribes joining the army, surrounded the Mahomedans, who were obliged to entrench their camp.

Mahmud, having thus secured himself, ordered six thousand archers to the front to endeavour to provoke the enemy to attack his entrenchments. The archers were opposed by the Gukkurs, who, in spite of the king's efforts and presence, repulsed his light troops and followed them so closely, that no less than 30,000 Gukkurs with their heads and feet bare, and armed with various weapons, penetrated into the Mahomedan lines, where a dreadful carnage ensued, and 5000 Mahomedans in a few minutes were slain. The enemy were at length checked, and being cut off as fast as they advanced, the attacks became fainter and fainter, till, on a sudden, the elephant upon which the prince who commanded the Hindus rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naphtha balls,\* and the flights of arrows, turned and fled. This circumstance produced a panic among the Hindus, who, seeing themselves deserted by their general, gave way and fled also. Abdulla Tace, with six thousand Arabian horse, and Arslan Jazib, with 10,000 Turks, Afghans, and Khiljis pursued the enemy day and night, so that 20,000 Hindus were killed in the retreat. Of the spoil, 30 elephants (besides other booty) were brought to the king.

\*       \*       \*       \*       \*       \*

When Param Deo, and the Raja of Ajmir, and others, had assembled a large army and taken possession of the roads, in order to oppose the Sultan, the latter found it impracticable to face them, and therefore marched to Multan by way of Sind. On his journey thither, owing to the scarcity of forage at some places, and of water at others, his army experienced great trouble and distress. It was with considerable difficulty he at length reached Ghizny in the year 417, A. H. It is said that when the Sultan was proceeding to Multan through the deserts of Sind, he gave orders to procure a guide to conduct him on his journey. A Hindu offered his services, but treacherously led the army through a path, which brought them to a place where no water could be procured. When the army had passed on for a whole day and night, and found no water at any place, they were sore set, and every thing wore the appearance of the horrors of the day of judgment. The Sultan then asked his guide the reason why he had brought them to such a fearful pass. The Hindu replied, that he was a worshipper of Somnath, and had conducted the king and his army to the desert, with a view to their destruc-

\* See Note H

tion. The Sultan being exceeding wrath, ordered his men to put the Hindu to death

On that very night the Sultan retired from his camp to a neighbouring spot, and prostrating himself on the earth, offered up prayers, mingled with lamentations, to Almighty God, imploring deliverance from the danger in which he was placed.

After the first watch of the night had elapsed, a light was seen towards the north. The army, according to the Sultan's command, directed their march towards the light, and by the morning found themselves in safety on the borders of a lake. Thus the piety of the Sultan rescued him from the brink of destruction

\* \* \* \* \*

It is mentioned in the Jama-ool-Hikayat that when the Sultan on one occasion saw an idol in a Hindu temple poised in the air without any support, he was much surprized at the sight, and enquired of the philosophers of the times the cause of the phenomenon. They answered that the roof and walls of the building were entirely made of magnet, and that the idol, which was made of iron, being equally attracted from the different points of the magnetic edifice, was thus naturally suspended in the middle of it. On one of the walls being destroyed by the orders of the Sultan, the idol fell to the ground

\* \* \* \* \*

At\* the time of the death of Mahomed Toghluk, his cousin, *Malik Feroze Bábek*, nephew of Gheiasu-ood-deen Toghluk, was in the camp. Mahomed Toghluk having a great affection for him, *inasmuch as he had paid the most devoted attention to the king during his illness*, proposed making him his successor, and accordingly recommended him as such on his death-bed to his nobles. On the king's demise, the army fell into the utmost disorder, to remedy which, Feroze gained over the majority of the Indian chiefs to his party, and prevailed on the Mogul mercenaries to remove to some distance from the camp, till he should be able to compose the differences which existed in the army. [*Malik Firoz Barbek thought it expedient, with reference to Altún Bahádar and the nobles who had come from Amír Kazghan as auxiliaries, to bestow dignities and honorary dresses upon them, according to their respective ranks, and to give them their dismissal, remarking that it was not improbable, that dissensions might arise between them and the soldiers of Hindústán, which would lead to disturbances, and therefore that it was better, before he marched, that they should break up their camp and depart. Altún Bahádar concurred in the propriety of this recommendation, and immediately striking his camp, pitched it at a distance of ten miles*] Amír Nowroze Kurkín, the Mogul

\* In the five passages which follow from the reign of Firoz Tughlak, the Italics represent the additions which are to be found in the lithographed edition.

chief who commanded the troops of his nation in the army, *son-in-law of Turmesherin Khán, who in the time of Muhammed Tughlak Shah had come to India, and been enrolled among the chief nobles of the land, now acting a most ungrateful part,* quitted the camp on the same night, and joined Altoon Tash, the leader of the auxiliary troops, to whom he suggested that *the king of Hindustan was dead, that the army was without a leader and totally disorganized, that the time was favorable for them, and that it was their business as soldiers, to plunder the late king's treasure on its march the next day, and then to retreat to their native country with all the money and jewels they could possess themselves of* Altoon Tash being persuaded to enter into this scheme, the Moguls returned next morning to the camp, which was still in disorder, [*to the army which was moving on like a caravan, without a guide, and without system or arrangement*] and after a sharp skirmish, loaded several camels with treasure [*plundering several treasure-chests which were laden upon camels*], took captive many children of both sexes, and were not sparing in their pillage. In order to secure himself from further depredation, Feroze [*the Umrás of Sultán Muhammed, oppressed with a thousand fears and alarms,*] led the army to Sevustan, commonly called Sehwan, and during the night took every possible precaution to defend himself [*themselves,*] against the Moguls, and thought rest and sleep a forbidden indulgence. Meanwhile the officers of his army, *Mahhdúm-záda Abbási Sheikh-u-Sheyúh, Násira-u-dín Mahmúd, and U'dhí, better known as Chirúgh Dehlí, and otherwise and holy men, grandees and chiefs, all with one accord having waited on Malík Feroze Bárbeh, represented that the late king had constituted him his successor, and that no other nobleman was more worthy of the honor, and entreated him not to reject the cares of state, but to ascend the throne, to which, after some hesitation, and declaring that he would proceed on a pilgrimage to the two holy cities and Hejáz, when he could no longer resist their importunities, he gave his assent, and was accordingly proclaimed king on the twenty-third of Muharram, after he had passed through more than fifty stages of his illustrious life* On the same day he gave orders to ransom the prisoners, who during the late disorders had fallen into the hands of the turbulent people of Tutta, and the Moghuls, and on the third day he marched against the rebellious people of Tutta and the Mogul auxiliaries, whom he defeated, [*that he might take any of them prisoners wherever they might be found, or that he might slay them,*] and took many of their chiefs prisoners [*in short, many of the Moghul chiefs were seized and put to death*] Amir Nanroz Kurhín and Altún Bahádar, seeing no further advantage in delay, hastened to their own country with the utmost precipitation, and even the people of Tutta who had proceeded to the greatest extremities in their insubordination

*and rebellion, placed their feet within the boundary of allegiance. The accession of Sultan Firoz Sháh was hailed as a blessing by the people, and they prayed for his health and wealth with all earnestness. Shortly after, he marched by uninterrupted stages from Sewastán to the fort of Bhakar \**

\* \* \* \* \*

In the year A. H. 754—A. D. 1353,—the king, having hunted at Kallanore, *at the foot of the hills*, caused, *on his return*, a palace to be built on the banks of the Soorsutty. In the month of Shuwal of the same year, he appointed Khan Jehan to the charge of Dehli, *with unlimited powers*, and himself marched *with a large army* towards Luknowty to subdue Haji Ehas. This chief had assumed royal honors and the title of Shumsood-deen, and had also occupied with his troops the whole of Bengal and Behar, as far as Benares. On the king's arrival in the neighbourhood of Gorukpoor, the Zemindars of that place made the usual presents, and were admitted to pay their respects. [*Udí Sing, Muhaddam of that place, came to pay his respects, and presented a suitable offering in money, together with two elephants, and was received with distinguished favour, and the Rái of Gorakhpúr also paid up the arrears of tribute which had accumulated for several years, and both of them accompanied the king on his march*]

\* The following is Dow's translation —

"When the death of Mahommed happened, his cousin Feroze was in the imperial camp. He was nephew to the emperor Tughlick, and Mahommed having conceived great friendship for him, designed to make him his successor, and, for that purpose, recommended him upon his death-bed to the Omrahs. Upon Mahommed's demise, the army fell into the utmost confusion. Feroze, having gained over the majority of the Omrahs to the party, prevailed, with presents, upon the Mogul mercenaries to move to some distance from the camp to prevent disturbances, till he should reduce the rest of the army to obedience. Amir Norose, a Mogul chief, who commanded a great body of the imperial troops, deserted that night, and, having joined Altu, the general of the Mogul mercenaries, told him, that now was the time to plunder the late emperor's treasure, and to retreat to their native country. Altu was easily prevailed upon to adopt this lucrative scheme. They therefore returned next morning to the camp, which was still in very great confusion, and after a very sharp skirmish, loaded some camels with treasure. Feroze, to secure himself from further depredations, led the army to Sewan, and took every possible means to defend himself against the avarice of the mercenaries. The Omrahs, the day after this movement, waited upon Feroze, and entreated him to mount the throne. After many pretended excuses, he favored the Omrahs with his consent, and was accordingly proclaimed Emperor.

He, the very first day of his reign, gave orders to ransom many prisoners, who during the late confusion, had fallen into the hands of the people of Tatta, and upon the third day, he marched against the Mogul mercenaries, took many of their chiefs prisoners, and forced the rest to fly towards their own country."

The king then penetrated as far as Bundwa, one of the stations of Haji Ehas, [*the established residence of the ruler of Bengal*] and the latter retreated to Yekdulla, *which is a place of exceeding strength, with the river on one side, and jungle on the other*. The king left Bandwa without molesting the inhabitants, and pursuing him to Ekdála, arrived there on the 7th of Rubbee-ul-Awul. An action ensued on the same day, but Haji Ehas having entrenched his position very strongly, reduced the king to the necessity of surrounding him. The blockade continued for twenty days, when, on the 5th of Rubbee-ool-Akhur, Feroze, intending to change his ground, *as the camp had become offensive*, and to encamp on the banks of the Ganges, went out to reconnoitre. The enemy, imagining that he meditated a retreat, left their works and drew up in order of battle. On perceiving it was the king's intention to attack them, however, they again retreated, but with such precipitation and confusion, that 44 elephants and many standards, *as well as the royal canopy, and state equipages*, fell into the king's hands. *Many of the foot-soldiers were slain, and many taken prisoners*. The next day, the Sultán encamped on the field of battle, and gave orders that the captives of Lakhnauti should be released. The rainy season soon after came on with great violence, *as it always does in the province of Bengál*, and the Sultán observed, that as he had gained a victory, and captured the emblems of royalty, he would depart, and return in the following year. Shortly after peace was concluded, and the king returned to Dehli [*without effecting his object*].

In the year 755, Feroze built the city of Ferozabad, *on the banks of the river Jín*, adjoining that of Dehli, and on the 12th of Shaban he marched on a hunting expedition to Depalpoor, and constructed a large canal 48 coss in length, from the Sutlej to the Kugur. In the year 757 he constructed another canal, between [*from*] the hills of Mundir and Surmore from the Jumna, into which he led seven other minor streams, which all uniting, ran in one channel through Hansy, and from thence to Rauseen, [*Absín*] where he built a strong fort, which he called Hissar Feroze. *Below the fort, near the palace, he excavated a lake, which he filled from the waters of the canal*. He also conveyed an aqueduct [*a canal*] from the Kugur, over the river [*which passing by the fort of*] Sursutty, to the village of Perí Kchra, [*entered the stream of Sirkhatra,*] where he founded a city, named after him, Ferozabad. At the same time he introduced another canal from the Jumna, which filled a large lake he caused to be constructed at Hissar Feroze. In the month of Zeehuj an honorary dress, and a letter of congratulation on his accession, [*diploma*] were presented from Abool Futtch Aboo-Bukr Aby-Rubeea Sooliman Abbasi Caliph of Egypt, *signifying that he had conferred on him the countries of Hindústán, and conveying a recommenda-*

tion in behalf of the Bahmanis Kings of the Deccan. In the same month also, he received an embassy, which brought many splendid and rare presents, with fresh proposals of peace, from Hâi Ilyâ, entitled *Shams-ud-din Shâh*, from *Lakhnâuti* and Bengal, which Ferroz accepted, and soon after ratified, and then dismissed the ambassadors with honours and distinction.\*

\* \* \* \* \*

From thence the king marched towards the mountains of Nagarkote, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail and snow [they brought him some ice.] The king said, "At the time my late liege-lord, Sultan *Muhammad Tughlak Shâh* arrived here, and they brought him ice & herbs for his beverage, he refused?

\* "In the year 754 the Emperor hunted at Callanore. He ordered upon his return, a palace to be built upon the banks of the *Sarasut*; and towards the end of the year appointed one *Jehan* to the viceroyship of *Dehli*. He himself in the meantime marched towards Bengal to subdue *Elias*, who had assumed the imperial title, and possessed himself of all Bengal and Behar, even to Benares. When he had arrived in the neighbourhood of *Gorkhpoor*, the *Zemindars* of that place, having brought proper presents, were admitted to his presence. Ferroz having penetrated as far as *Pundna*, one of the residences of the princes of Bengal, *Elias* retreated to a strong post, whither the emperor pursued him. An action ensued, but *Elias* secured himself in his post, which obliged the emperor to surround him, the place being almost inaccessible. Things having continued in this situation for twenty days, Ferroz, intending to change his ground, and to encamp on the banks of the *Ganges*, went out to reconnoitre. The enemy, imagining that he meditated a retreat, advanced out of their post, and drew up in order of battle. But when they saw that the emperor was preparing to attack them they again retreated within their works, but with such precipitation and confusion, that forty-four elephants, and many standards fell into the emperor's hands. The rainy season coming on with great violence, a kind of peace was patched up between them, and the emperor returned disappointed to *Dehli*.

In the year 755, Ferroz built the city of *Ferozabad* adjoining to that of *Dehli*: and in the following year marched to *Debalpoor*, where he made a canal one hundred miles in length from the *Sutluj* to the *Jidger*. In the year 757, between the hills of *Mendook* and *Sirmore*, he cut a channel from the *Jumna*, which he divided into seven streams, one of which he brought to *Hass* and from thence to *Benares*, where he built a strong castle, calling it by his own name. He drew soon after, a canal from the *Capur* passing by the walls of *Sarasut*, and joined it to the rivulets of *Ken*, upon which he built a city named after him, *Ferozabad*. This city he watered with another canal from the *Jumna*. These public works were of prodigious advantage to the adjacent countries, by supplying them with water for their lands, and with a common water-carriage from place to place.

An embassy about this time arrived with presents and new conditions of peace from Bengal which Ferroz accepted, and soon after ratified the treaty."—*D. H.*

to take it, because I was not with him to partake of it" He then gave orders that some elephant and camel-loads of sugar, which were in camp, should be converted into sherbet and iced, and distributed throughout the whole army, in memory of Sultán Muhammed Tughlak Sháh. The Raja of Nagrakote, after sustaining some loss, submitted, but was restored to his dominions. The name of Nagrakote was, on this occasion, changed to that of Mahomedabad, in honor of the late king. The people of Nagrakote told Feroze, that the idol which the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagrakote was the image of Nowshaba, the wife of Alexander the Great, and that that conqueror had left the idol with them, [which the Brahmins had made at the time that conqueror was in these parts, and placed within their temple, and that now that image was the idol of the people of this country.] The name by which it was then known was Jwalamooky. In this temple was a fine library of Hindue books, consisting of 1300 volumes. Feroze ordered [sent for some of the wise men of that religion, and ordered some of the books to be translated, and especially directed] one of those books, which treated of philosophy, astrology, and divination, to be translated into prose [verse] in the Persian language, by one of the celebrated poets of that period, Eiz-ood-Deen, Khalid Khany, and called it Dulayil Feroze Shahee. It is in truth a book replete with various kinds of knowledge, both practical and theoretical. Some historians state, that Sultán Feroze Sháh Bárbek on this occasion broke the idols of Nagrakote, and mixing the fragments with pieces of cow's flesh, filled bags with them, and caused them to be tied round the necks of Brahmins, who were then paraded through the camp \*

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In the year 774, the Wízier Mullik Mokbil [*Makhbúl*,] entitled Khan Jehan, died, and his eldest son, Joona Shah, succeeded to his office and titles. The following year was marked by the death

\* "The emperor, having finished this great work, built a fort at Sirhind, which he called Ferozepoor. He, from that place, marched towards the mountains of Nagracut, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail and snow. He, however, reduced the Raja of those parts, after sustaining some loss on his side, and confirmed him again in his dominions, changing the name of Nagracut to that of the city of Mahommed, in honour of the former emperor. Feroze was told here that the goddess whom the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagracut, was the image of Noshaba, the wife of the great Sekuudur, which that conqueror had left with them. The name of the idol is now changed to that of Jewallamucki. In the temple there was also at that time a fine library of the books of the Brahmins, consisting of one thousand and three hundred volumes. Feroze ordered one of those books, which treated of philosophy, astrology, and divination, to be translated into the Persian language, and called it the Arguments of Feroze"—*Dow*



of Zuffur Khan, Governor of Guzerat, who was succeeded in his office and titles, by his eldest son, Duria Khan. During the next year, on the 12th of Safar, the king was plunged into affliction by the death of his favorite son, Fattéh Khan, a prince of great promise, and the back of his strength was bent by the burden of grief. Finding no remedy, except in patience and resignation, he buried him in his own garden, and performed the customary ceremonies upon the occasion. On account of the excess of his grief, the shadow of his regard was withdrawn from the cares of state, and he abandoned himself entirely to his sorrows. His nobles and counsellors placed their heads on the ground, and represented, that there was no course left but to submit to the divine will, and that he should not show further repugnance to administer the affairs of his kingdom. The wise king acceded to the supplications of his friends and well-wishers, and, in order to dispel his sorrows, devoted himself to sport, and in the vicinity of new Dehli, he built a wall of two or three parasangs in circumference, planted within the enclosure shady trees, and converted it into a hunting park. The ruins of it remain to this day \*

\* \* \* \* \*

As he could gain no information of Kurgoo himself, who remained concealed amongst the ravines and precipices of the hill-country of Kamúún, eluding pursuit like so much quicksilver, and no one knew whether he was dead or alive, and as the rainy season was approaching, the standards resplendent with victories returned to the camp whence they set out. The king appointed one Mullik Dawood, an Affghan, whom he exalted to a very high rank, with a body of troops, to remain at Sumbhul, with orders to invade the country of Kutehr every year, to commit every kind of ravage and devastation, and not to allow it to be inhabited until the murderer was given up. The king himself also, under pretence of hunting, marched annually in that direction until the year 787, to see that his orders were fulfilled, and to do what Malik Dáúd had left undone, and for six years not an inhabitant was to be seen in that district, nor was a single jarib of the land cultivated. Not a soul slept at night in his hut, and several thousands of Hindús were slaughtered to avenge the death of those three Sayyids. In the above-mentioned year he built an exceedingly strong fortress in Bisauli, seven coss from Badáún, and called it Firozpúr, but the common people, jocose amid all the oppression they had suffered, called it Alkhirín-púr, (the last city), and, in truth, it happened as they predicted, for the grace of God did not suffer him to construct any more forts, or to lay the foundations of new

\* "In the year 774,, Jehan the vizier died, and his son was honored with his titles. Nothing remarkable happened till two years after, when the emperor was plunged into affliction, by the death of his favorite son Fatte, a prince of great expectations"—Dow.

*cities and towns, and consequently the fortress continued to be called Akhurinpûr \**

\* \* \* \* \*

The Raja of Beejanuggar, notwithstanding his vast army, consisting of thirty thousand cavalry, besides infantry, was so alarmed, that he sent off his treasure and elephants towards his capital the next morning, preparatory to engaging or retreating, as he might deem most advisable. The night being stormy and heavy rain falling, the elephants and other beasts of burden stuck frequently in the mud, and were unable to advance above four miles from the camp. Mahomed Shah, hearing of the movement of the Hindoos, immediately marched against them, leaving his tents standing. Towards the dawn he arrived at the Raja's camp, and the alarm being given, so great was the consternation, that the infidels fled, with the utmost precipitation, to Adony, leaving every thing behind them. Mahomed Shah fell in with that part of the camp composing their market and baggage, and put to death, without distinction, men, women, and children, free and slave, to the number of seventy thousand souls. According to the Tohfut-oos-Sulteen, two thousand elephants, three hundred gun-carriages and battering rams, seven hundred Arabian horses, and a sing'hasun set with jewels, were included in the booty of the king,—all other articles were left to the officers and soldiers. Mahomed Shah, regarding this victory as the omen of others, after passing the rainy season near Moodkul, and being reinforced by Khan Mahomed from Dowlatabad, marched against the infidels in Adony, on the plains of which place, near the Toongbndra, the Raja of Beejanuggar had taken up his station, having given the command of Adony to his sister's son. Here he had collected a great army of soldiers, together with many elephants, and all the munitions of war which he possessed.

\* \* \* \* \*

At this time, a favorite remarked to the king, "that he had only sworn to slaughter one hundred thousand Hindoos, and not to

\* "The emperor enraged at this villany, marched immediately that way, and took severe vengeance upon the associates and kindred of the assassin putting them without distinction to the sword, and levelling their houses with the ground. The murderer himself made his escape to the mountains of Cumaoon, and was protected by the Indian princes of those parts. Feroze ordered a detachment of his army against them. They brought back near thirty thousand of those unhappy mountaineers, who were all condemned to slavery. The emperor's justice in this case degenerated into extreme severity. Neither did the misfortunes brought upon those miserable captives satisfy his thirst for revenge. He returned every year, under pretence of hunting, to that unhappy country, but the people, and not the beasts of the forest, were his prey. He by degrees cut off all the inhabitants, and converted whole provinces into a wilderness"—*Doie*

destroy their race altogether " The king replied, " that though twice the number required by his vow might have been slain, yet till the Ray satisfied the musicians, he would neither make peace nor spare the lives of his subjects " To this the Ambassadors, who had full powers, immediately agreed, and the money was paid on the instant Mahomed Shah then said, " Praise be to God, that what I ordered has been performed I would not let a light word be recorded of me in the pages of history "

The Ambassadors, seeing the king pleased, bowed their foreheads to the ground, and besought him to hear from them a few words Being permitted to speak, they observed, that no religion required the innocent to be punished for the crimes of the guilty, more especially helpless women and children if Krishn Ray had been in fault, the poor and feeble inhabitants had not been accessory to his errors Mahomed Shah replied, that the decrees of Providence had ordered what had been done, and that he had no power to alter them The Ambassadors observed, that as the bestower of kingdoms had conferred on him the government of the Deccan, it was probable that his successors and the princes of the Carnatic might long remain neighbours, which made it advisable to avoid cruelty in war, and they proposed, therefore, that a treaty should be made not to slaughter the helpless and unarmed inhabitants in future battles Mahomed Shah, struck with the good sense of this proposal, took an oath, that he would not, hereafter, put to death a single enemy after a victory, and would bind his successors to observe the same line of conduct From that time to this, it has been the general custom in the Deccan to spare the lives of prisoners in war, and not to shed the blood of an enemy's unarmed subjects Mahomed Shah, after he had thus received satisfaction, returned to Koolburga, visiting on his way Sheikh Siraj-ood-deen, to whose prayers as well as to the charities sent to Mecca with his mother, he ascribed his successes over the Hindoos

\* \* \* \* \*

Mahomed Shah was buried by the side of his father,—and the words

" All is vanity "

were engraved by his orders on his tomb Happy the king who passes a reign like his, and of whom such memorials remain ! He was respected in his life, and after his death remembered on account of his virtues

According to the Siraj-ool-Towareekh, so much treasure and such numbers of elephants, as were collected in the household of Mahomed Shah Bahmuny, were never possessed by any other prince of that dynasty He had three thousand male and female elephants, and in the reign of any other king we only read of two thousand The sums of gold accumulated by him according to the same author, exceeded those acquired by other princes a

full half No prince before him ever so fâr reduced the Rajas and Zemindars of the Carnatic, from whom he wrested much of the accumulated riches of seven hundred years, and it is computed that in his reign nearly five hundred thousand unbelievers fell by the swords of the warriors of Islam, by which the population of the Carnatic was so reduced, that it did not recover for several ages Mahomed Shah reigned seventeen years

\* \* \* \* \*

Ahmud Shah, without waiting to besiege the Hindoo capital, overran the open country, and wherever he went, put to death men, women, and children, without mercy, contrary to the compact made between his uncle and predecessor, Mahomed Shah, and the Rays of Beejanuggur Wherever the number of slain amounted to twenty thousand, he halted three days, and made a festival in celebration of the bloody event He broke down, also, the idolatrous temples, and destroyed the colleges of the Brahmins During these operations, a body of five thousand Hindoos, urged by desperation at the destruction of their religious buildings, and at the insults offered to their deities, united in taking an oath to sacrifice their lives in an attempt to kill the king as the author of all their sufferings

\* \* \* \* \*

In the year 829, Ahmud Shah marched to reduce a rebellious Zemindar of Mahoor, who still retained several strong places which held out against his troops The rebel soon submitted, but Ahmud Shah, though he had assured him of pardon, put him to death in violation of his promise, as soon as he fell into his hands, together with five or six thousand of his followers, compelling, at the same time, all the captive women and children to embrace the true faith During this campaign, the king obtained possession of a diamond mine at Kullum, a place dependent on Gondwana, in which territory he rased many idolatrous temples, and, erecting mosques on their sites, appropriated to each some tracts of land to maintain holy men and to supply lamps and oil for religious purposes

\* \* \* \* \*

Allaood-Deen Shah, upon this, wrote to him, that he valued the lives of the two chiefs equal to that of two hundred thousand common men Therefore, as it was a rule with the princes of his family to slay a hundred thousand Hindoos in revenge for the death of a single Mussulman, he swore, should Dew Raj take away the lives of the two captive officers, he would revenge the death of each by the slaughter of a hundred thousand Hindoos

\* \* \* \* \*

To every part of his dominions he sent censors of morals and just judges, and though he drank wine himself, he forbade the use of it to others, as also the practice of gaming He put chains on the necks of Kullendurs, and idle, dissipated vagabonds,

whom he punished by employing them in removing filth from the streets, in dragging heavy stones, and in the performance of all manner of laborious work, in order that they might reform, and either earn their livelihood by industry, or quit the country altogether. If any person, after admonition and moderate correction, was convicted of drinking wine, it was enacted, that melted lead should be poured down his throat, whatever might be the rank of the offender.

\* \* \* \* \*

On the fourth day, however, they prevailed on the chiefs to come to an entertainment in the fort, at which all the principal foreigners, in number about three hundred, attended, with the exception of Kasim Beg (Suff Shikun) Kurra Khan Khoord and Ahmud Beg of Mecca. While in the act of eating, a number of armed men, on a signal given by Sher-ool-moolk, rushed upon them, and put every soul to the sword. At the same instant four thousand Deccanics outside the fort attacked the camp of the foreigners and put every male to death, even the very infants at the breast. After this tragedy, they plundered the tents, and treated the women with all the insult that lust or brutality could provoke. Since the time of Hoossein, the Syuds were never so maltreated, but is it not astonishing, that men who called themselves servants of the Prophet, should so basely misuse his descendants?

\* \* \* \* \*

Hoomayoon Shah, now abandoning himself to the full indulgence of his cruel propensities, and mad with rage, directed stakes to be set up on both sides of the king's chowk, or market-place, and caused vicious elephants and wild beasts to be placed in different parts of the square, in other places cauldrons of scalding oil and boiling water were also prepared as instruments of torture. The king, ascending a balcony in order to glut his eyes on the spectacle, first cast his brother, Hussun Khan, before a ferocious tiger, who soon tore the wretched Prince to pieces, and devoured him on the spot. Yoosoof Toork and his seven associates, were then beheaded in the king's presence, and the females of their innocent and helpless families, being dragged from their houses, were violated and ill-treated in the palace-square, by ruffians, in a manner too indecent to relate. Tortures were now invented by the king, who inflicted on both young and old of both sexes torments more cruel than ever entered the imagination of Zohak and the tyrant Hijaz. About seven thousand persons, including females and servants, none of whom had the most distant concern in this rebellion, besides the menials, such as cooks, scullions, and others, were put to death, some being stabbed with daggers, others hewn in pieces with hatchets, and the rest flayed by scalding oil or boiling water. This tragedy

happened in the month of Shaban, in the same year as the rebellion

The author of the Towareekh Mahmood Shahy states, he learned from the royal attendants, that upon the king's first hearing of the escape of the Princee Hussan Khan, rage and passion so overcame him, he tore his robes, bit his pillows, and often his own lips, in such a manner that they dropped with blood. Alarmed at the example of Hussun Khan, he put to death several innocent persons of the royal family who were confined in different fortresses. Nor did his suspicious rest here, many other persons of his own court fell the innocent victims of his indiscriminate cruelty. From this moment Hoomayoon threw off all restraint, and seized at will the children of his subjects, tearing them from their parents to gratify his passions. He would frequently stop nuptial processions in the street, and seizing the bride, after enjoying her, send her to the bridegroom's house. He was in the habit of putting the females of his own house to death for the most trivial offences, and when any of the nobility were obliged to attend him, so great was their dread, that they took leave of their families, as if preparing for death.

\* \* \* \* \*

About sunset, the gates were burned, but the quantity of hot ashes yet glowing prevented any one passing in or out till midnight, when Mirza Khan and his friends rushed from the citadel, and tried to make their escape. Numbers of others were slain in the attempt by the populace, but Mirza Khan having effected his retreat, fled towards the fort of Joonere. The Deccany troops, the Abyssinians, and the mob, having entered the fort, put to death every foreigner they found within, amounting to nearly three hundred, among whom were several persons of high rank and eminent character. Their bodies were dragged out on the open plain, and orders given that they should be unburied. Not content with the past slaughter, Jumal Khan commanded his adherents to murder the foreigners of every rank and occupation in the city, and to plunder and burn their dwellings. The soldiers and their followers, being once let loose, put to death indiscriminately the noble, the master, the servant, the merchant, the pilgrim, and the travelling stranger. Their houses were set on fire, and the heads of those lately exalted to the skies were brought low, and trampled in the dust, while the very females, who from modesty concealed their faces from the sun and moon, were dragged by the hair into the assemblages of the drunken. On the fourth day, Mirza Khan, who had been seized near Joonere, was brought to Jumal Khan, and being first carried through the city on an ass, his body was hewn in pieces, which were affixed on different buildings. Several of his friends taken with him were also put to death, and their bodies being rammed into cannon, were blown into the air. In the space

of seven days, nearly a thousand foreigners were murdered, some few only escaping under the protection of Deccany or Abyssinian officers. The reign of Meeran Hoossein Nizam Shah lasted only ten months and three days. Among those princes recorded in history as murderers of their fathers, we find none whose reigns extended beyond one year, and a poet observes, "Royalty be-fitteth not the destroyer of a parent, nor will the reign of such a wretch be long."

\* \* \* \* \*

Beny Ray having recovered from his wounds, the king used every effort to persuade both him and his minister to embrace the Mahomedan faith. They, however, persisted in refusing, swearing that they preferred death to abjuring their religion. Mahmood Shah was in hopes of shaking their constancy by confining them separately, and treating them harshly. This conduct only tended to support their resolution, till at length the king, at the instigation of some holy men about his person, ordered them to be put to death.



The history of Ferishta is universally known in India,—at least by name, and there are few large towns without a copy. If we add to these the works labelled "Naurasnâma" and "Târikh-i-Ibrâhîmî," which few of the present ignorant generation know to be the same as Ferishta's history, we shall find that it is probably more common than any secular work of equal size in this country. There are several Manuscripts also of correctness and elegance, but all must yield the palm to the lithographed edition of 1831, which, like so many other Persian works printed at the Bombay Presidency, shames the lithographic press of this side of India.

We have no critical account of the Manuscripts used in collating this edition. To General Briggs, however, is due the merit of having prepared it for the press, though his absence pre-

vented his superintending its execution All we learn of it from him is, that he "procured a copy of Ferishta in Persian, which contained several valuable annotations and corrections This copy has since been carefully collated with several others, and a new and correct edition was left by me at Bombay in 1827 in order to be printed " He confesses himself indebted to Mír Khairát Alí Khán, commonly called Mushták, who assisted him in his labours, who had devoted his whole life to historical enquiries, and who travelled for several years successively through the Deccan, making copies of every Persian inscription on stone to be found in all the towns of note in that country.

It is strange that, notwithstanding the care bestowed by General Briggs on this work, his name nowhere appears as having any concern in it It is without Preface, and without Title-page, but there is a fly leaf at the end of the second volume, informing us that the work was undertaken by order of Mr. Elphinstone, and executed by the care, and according to the arrangement, of Captain George Jervis; that the first volume was written by Mírzá Hasan of Shíráz, the second by Mírzá Hamzah of Mázen-derán M Jules Mohl\* exonerates Captain Jervis from the charge of taking credit to himself for the labours of others, inasmuch as that officer was at the Cape of Good Hope, at the time that the last sheets were passing through the

\* *Journal des Savants*, Tom IX p 402



Press, but attributes blame to the Persian lithographer, who no doubt wished to ingratiate himself with his immediate master by this insinuating flattery.

On the arrival of the impressions in London, the General took care to add a fitting Title-page, which states that the work was "edited and collated from various Manuscript copies by Major-General John Briggs, assisted by Munshí Mir Khairát Alí Khán Mushták, of Akberábád."

There are other omissions which give us cause to regret that this edition was not more carefully lithographed under European superintendence. To be sure, the names of people and places are written with unusual, though not entire, accuracy; the addition of marginal dates is a great convenience, and the handwriting of the lithographers is clear and elegant; but we have no list of variants to enable us to judge of the propriety of the selected reading; we have not a single stop, or super-lineation, throughout the whole work; the rubrics, or large letters, are not properly contrasted; the stones have been corrected before impression, and not always with care; several dates in the text have been omitted from the margin; and the dates of the page-headings are carelessly noted—the year 854, for instance, is preserved throughout the 462 first pages of the second volume, although several ages and dynasties are embraced within that space.

The Vocabulary of difficult and obsolete words, which was promised, has not been included in the work. It would be worth while to supply the omission even now, by making a separate impression of this Appendix; for though the style of Ferishta is very pure and easy, he takes from other authors words which are not always to be found in our dictionaries, and which require explanation, only to be obtained by referring to the original passages where they occur

The first words of Ferishta's History are:—

پیش وجود همه آیدگان      پیش بقائی همه پایندگان  
 قافله سالار جهان قدم      مرسله پیوند گلوئی قلم  
 داغ نه ناصیه داران پاک      تاج ده تحت نشینان خاک  
 چون بر حکم کنت کنرا محفیا بقلم قدرت انداع بر صغیه  
 احوال مصنوعات کشیده بدست عنایت شاهد بورس وجود را  
 اربند عدم آزاد گردانید نسیم حان بخش روح پرور ارچمن  
 و نفست مینه من روحی در اترار آورده \*

and the last words are —

لیکن اولادش بطاعت بن راجکی داشتند تا انکه راسراخ نامی  
 در سده نهمصد و هفتاد با حکام دکن جنگ نموده کشته شد و بعد  
 ازان مریدانش فوت بهم رسانیدند درانملک ملوک طوایف بهم  
 رسید و تتمه احوال راجهای انجا در طبقه دکی مذکور نموده اربین  
 جهت درین جا بقلم در بیاورد بر مطالعه کنندگان این کتاب  
 هر طایفه و طبقه ار ملوک دکن پرتو و صوح حواهد بخشید فقط

## NOTE H

*On the early use of Gunpowder in India.*

To the passage at p 323, where it is said that the elephant of the Hindú prince became unruly from the effect of the naphtha balls, Major-General Briggs adds the following note.

“ This passage is differently written in the various manuscripts I have seen, and, in some, the word *tope* (gun) has been written for *nupth* (naphtha,) and *toofung* (musket) for *khudung* (arrow) But no Persian or Arabic history speaks of gunpowder before the time usually assigned for its invention, A D 1317, long after which it was first applied to the purpose of war It appears likely, also, that Baber was the first invader who introduced great guns into upper India, in 1526, so that the words *tope* and *toofung* have been, probably, introduced by ignorant transcribers of the modern copies of this work, which are in general very faulty throughout It is a remarkable fact that the words guns and muskets occur in the India House manuscript, which was copied in 1648, and it may therefore, probably be no error of the transcriber; the fact, however, appears impossible ”

A confirmation of this reading of *tope* and *tu-fang* is given by Wilken, who observes, that the two copies which he consulted have the same words, and that even the *roar* of the cannon is spoken of. He considers it not improbable that Greek fire was used by Mahmúd Dow boldly translates the word as *guns*.\*

It does not appear on what authority Ferishta rests his statement. The *Tárikh-i-Yemí-ní*, the *Jámiu-t-Tawárikh* of Rashíd-u-dín, the *Tárikh-i-Guzída*, Abú-l-fedá, the *Tabakát-i-*

\* Wilken, *Mirchondí Historia Gasnevidarum*, p. 169

Násirí, the Rauzatu-s-Safá, the Táríkh-i-Alfi, and the Tabakát-i-Akberí, though almost all of them notice this important engagement, in A. D 1008, between the Híndús and Muhammedans, and mention the capture of 30 elephants, yet none of them speak of either *naft*, or *tope*

But, ten years after this, we find express mention made of the use of naphtha in a naval action near Multán, between Mahmúd and the Jats of the Júd Hills On this occasion Mahmúd built 1400 boats, each of which was armed with six iron spikes to prevent the enemy boarding, and in each were twenty archers and five naphtha-men, to attack and set fire to the enemy's flotilla The Jats opposed him in 4000 boats, but were completely defeated, many of their vessels being set on fire by the naphtha.

We may therefore conclude that, if any combustibles were used in the action near Pesháwar, they were composed of naphtha, and that it must be an error to read either *tope*, or *tufang* in the passage under consideration

This probability is greatly increased by the fact that the country where both these transactions are recorded to have taken place abounds with naphtha Near Mukeya Ghát, on the Indus, it oozes out from parts of the Khyssore range The natives are ignorant of its commercial value, and use it only as a cure for sores on their camels' backs ; and at Kohát, 30 miles from Pesháwar, it is also abundant \*

\* Burnes' *Bokhara*, Vol III p 259

“Amír Khán sent into the mountains for some mineral liquor, which he told me was collected by dipping cotton into places where it oozed through the ground ”\*

At Narr Topa, near Khánpúr, there is a copious spring of asphaltum.†

Petroleum is found at Sabbí, south of the Indus It exudes from the rocks, and floats on the surface of the water. The natives call it sulphur-oil, and burn it in their lamps, but do not seem to be aware of its medicinal properties ‡

In the Yúsufzei country, there is a basin situated to the east of Dhyr, where a fire has burned from time immemorial, and is at present maintained under a cupola in charge of a Guebrian woman §

When Sikander, the Iconoclast, who subverted the Hindú religion in Cashmír, ordered all the places of worship throughout the kingdom to be razed, a temple to Jag Deo in the Punj-hazára district, on being levelled with the ground, emitted from its foundations volumes of fire and smoke, which the Hindús declared to be an emblem of the wrath of the deity,—but which more sober enquiries may safely attribute to an asphaltine fire-pit.

Capt. A. Cunningham has gone further than this, and in his valuable paper on Arian Archi-

\* Vigne's *Ghazni*, &c p 62

† Capt J Abbott's *MS Reports*

‡ Dr A Fleming's *Report on the Salt Range*, in the *Journal A. S. Beng* 1848

§ M Court, *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. VIII p. 312.

ecture in the Asiatic Society's Journal, has considered that Sikander must have used gunpowder in the progress of his demolition. He observes —

“Most of the Kashmirian temples are more or less injured, but more particularly those at Wantipur, which are mere heaps of ruins. Speaking of these temples, Trebeck\* says “It is scarcely possible to imagine that the state of ruin to which they have been reduced has been the work of time or even of man, as their solidity is fully equal to that of the most massive monuments of Egypt, earthquakes must have been the chief agents in their overthrow.” I have quoted this passage to show the utter confusion that characterizes the ruins of the Avantipura temples. In my opinion their *overthrow* is too complete to have been the result of an earthquake, which would have simply *prostrated* the buildings in large masses. But the whole of the superstructure of these temples is now lying in one confused heap of stones totally disjointed from one another. I believe therefore that I am fully justified in saying, from my own experience, that such a complete and *disruptive overturn* could only have been produced by gunpowder. I have myself blown up a Fort, besides several buildings both of stone and of brick, and I have observed that the result has always been the entire *sundering* of all parts, one from another, and the capsizing or *bouleversement* of many of them. Neither of these effects can be produced by an earthquake. It seems also that Trebeck and Moorcroft would most likely have attributed their destruction to the same agency had they not believed that the use of gunpowder was unknown at that time. For, in speaking of a traditional attempt made by Shah Hamadan to destroy Martand, they say —“It is fortunate he was not acquainted with the use of gunpowder.” I admit that this destructive agent was most probably unheard of in Kashmir so early as the reign of Shah Mir Shah of Hamadan, but the destruction of the Kashmirian temples is universally attributed both by history and by tradition to the bigoted Sikander, whose idol-breaking zeal procured him the title of *Butshikan* or “Ikhnoklastes.” He was reigning at the period of Timur's invasion of India, with whom he exchanged friendly presents, and from whom I suppose that he may have received a present of the “villanous saltpetre.” This is not at all unlikely, for the furious Tamerlane was as great an idol-breaker as Sikander himself. Gibbon, it is true, denies that either the Mogals or the Ottomans in 1402, were acquainted with gunpowder, but as he points out that the Turks had *metal* cannon at the siege of

\* *Travels*, Vol II p 245

Constantinople in A D 1422,\* I think it is no great stretch of probability to suppose that gunpowder itself had been carried into the East, even as far as Kashmir, at least ten or twenty years earlier, that is about A D 1400 to 1420, or certainly during the reign of Sikander, who died in 1416

Even if this be not admitted, I still adhere to my opinion that the complete ruin of the Avantipura temples could only have been effected by gunpowder, and I would then ascribe their overthrow to the bigoted Aurangzeb Ferishta† attributes to Sikander the demolition of all the Kashmirian temples save one, which was dedicated to Mahadeva, and which only escaped "in consequence of its foundation being below the surface of the neighbouring water." In A. D. 1380—90 however, Abul Fazl‡ mentions that some of the idolatrous temples were in "perfect preservation." and Ferishta himself describes many of these edifices as being in existence in his own time, or about A. D. 1600 & Besides, as several of them are still standing, although more or less injured, it is certain that Sikander could not have destroyed them all. He most likely gave orders that they should all be overturned. and I have no doubt that many of the principal temples were thrown down during his reign. For instance, the tomb of his own Queen in Srnagur is built upon the foundation, and with the materials of a Hindu temple; likewise the wall which surrounds the tomb of his son Zem-ul Abidin was once the enclosure of, a Hindu temple, and lastly the entrance of a Masjid in Nova-Shehra of Srnagur, which, according to its inscription was built during the reign of his son Zem-ul Abidin, is formed of two fluted pillars of a Hindu peristyle. These instances prove that at least three different temples in the capital alone must have been overthrown either by Sikander or by one of his predecessors. But as the demolition of Idol temples is not attributed to any one of the earlier kings, we may safely ascribe the destruction of the three above mentioned to Sikander himself.

The points mooted in the preceding quotations invite us to a consideration of the general question respecting the invention and introduction of gunpowder. A work upon this subject which has lately been jointly published by M

\* Decree and Fall. Chap 65 Note 93  
 † Briggs, Vol IV p 465  
 ‡ *Ajir-i-Alberi* Vol II p 124  
 § Briggs Vol IV p 445

M. Renaud and Favé, entitled *Histoire de l'Artillerie, du Feu Grégeois*, &c, Paris, 1845, has increased the interest of the enquiry, though, it must be confessed, there are many doubtful points which are left in almost as great uncertainty as before. It shows that among the Arabs of the thirteenth century many receipts were in use for the mixture of sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal in different proportions; that there is strong reason for supposing that these were obtained originally from the Chinese, about the ninth century; that they improved their knowledge during the three following centuries; that they again derived more instruction on this subject, after the Moghul irruption of the thirteenth century; that as "China snow" and "China salt" are the names given by the oldest writers to saltpetre, its discovery originated with that nation; and that in the history of the Sang dynasty, as early as A. D. 1259, there is distinct mention of a projectile by means of fire. for that in the first year of the period *Kharking*, a kind of fire-arm was manufactured called "impetuous fire-dart;"—a nest of grains (case of chick-peas?) was introduced into a long tube of bamboo,\* which, on being ignited, darted forth a violent flame, and instantly

\* Hence is probably derived the name of *bamboo*, "τολ α sono ficti," as in *Βομβος*, Bombarda, Bombanum, Bombe, and Bomb. The name is usually ascribed to the early Portuguese, who, on first burning this reed, were astonished at the noise occasioned by the expansion and escape of the air between the joints, and gave it a name significant of this peculiar property. Either way, it derives its name from its explosive faculties. There is perhaps the same sort of connection between the Hindi *Ban*, a rocket, and *Béins*, a bamboo.



the charge was projected with a noise like that of a *pao*, which was heard at about the distance of 150 paces.\* There are, however, some anecdotes which militate against the probability of the Chinese being so early in possession of this destructive power; but there is no occasion to notice them here. These authors consider that Greek fire never became extinct, that it was gradually improved upon, till the name was lost, and that by progressive transitions it reached its maximum effect by conversion into gunpowder.

It is not intended, however, to introduce in this place a dissertation on a subject which has occupied so many able and discriminating pens. I will confine myself to a few remarks having special reference to India, and to some illustrations, most of which have not been noticed by authors who have entered upon this interesting enquiry †

\* *Du feu Grégeois*, p 192 In the review of this work in Blackwood's Magazine, June, 1846, there is a ludicrous mis-translation of this passage, where it is said, "the nest of grains was projected with a noise, like to that of a peacock," but the *pao* here mentioned is a war-like machine. Father Gaubil says, "Par le moyen de plusieurs *pao*, ou catapultes," "Les Mangous se servirent alors de *pao* (ou canons) à feu," "On avoit dans la ville des *pao* à feu," and in a note he adds, "Je n'ai pas osé traduire par canon, les caractères *pao*, et *ho-pao*, un de ces caractères a à côté le caractère *ché*, pierre, et c'était une machine à lancer des pierres. L'autre caractère est joint au caractère *ho*, feu, et je ne sais pas bien si c'était un canon comme les nôtres. De même, je n'oserais assurer que les boulets dont il est parlé se jetaient comme on fait aujourd'hui"—*Histoire de Gentschiscan*, p 69

† Those who wish to ascertain what has been said upon this subject, may consult the following works and articles, which for the most part treat the question with copious reference to other authorities. M L Dutens, *Œuvres*, Tom. I pp 194—199 *Histoire des Mongols*, Tom I. pp 132—137, 284—292 *Asiatic Journal*, Vol XX pp 265—7 *Journal des Savants*, Feb. 1847, pp 87—93. March, 1847, pp 140—150,

When the Muhammedan connection with India first commenced, we find, according to the ancient and authentic historians, that the powerful engine, called Manjaník, was brought into use as a propelling machine.

It was a favorite implement with the Arabs, and was used by them in A. H. 9, when Muhammed besieged Táyif. But it was known to them much earlier; for Ibn Kotaibah says that it was first used by Jazymah, the second king of Hyrah, who flourished about A. D. 200. The Arabs ascribe its invention to the Devil, and say that he suggested it to Nimrod, when he persecuted Abraham. Whether the word be derived from *Machina*, or *Manganum*, the substitution of the soft *j* for the harsher consonant, and the circumstance that this warlike engine was first used in Hyrah, render it probable that the Arabs received the Manjaník from the Persians, and not directly from the Greeks.

Biládorí gives us the following account of Muhammed Kásim's proceedings at the port of Daibal, in A. H. 93—A. D. 711-12, in which the Manjaník plays an important part.—

April 1847, pp. 209—223. Wilkinson's *Engines of War*, pp. 44—70, 132—150. Beckmann, *History of Inventions*, 4th Ed. pp. 482—512, 533—539. M. Eusebe Salverte, *Philosophy of Magic*, translated by A. T. Thomson, M. D. Vol. II. pp. 197—242. Ducange, *Glossar Med. et Inf. Latinitatis*, vv. Bombarda, Canones, Ignis Græcus, Muschetta, and the *Encyclopædias*, vv. Artillery, Cannon, Gunpowder, Greek-fire. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, Vol. I. p. 509—511. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Vol. X. pp. 14—18, Vol. XII. pp. 62—64. D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or.* vv. Asiours, Barud, Bondok.

فَحَدَقَ حِينَ نَزَلَ الدَّبِيلَ مَرَكَّتِ الرِّمَاحُ عَلَى الْحَدَقِ  
وَسَرَّتِ الْأَعْلَامُ وَانْزَلَ النَّاسُ عَلَى رِايَاتِهِمْ وَنَصَبَ مَنَاجِيحًا  
تَعْرِفُ بِالْعُرُوسِ كَانَ يَمُدُّ فِيهَا خَمْسُ مِائَةِ رَجُلٍ وَكَانَ  
بِالدَّبِيلِ نُدٌّ عَظِيمٌ عَلَيْهِ دَقْلٌ طَوِيلٌ وَعَلَى الدَّقْلِ رَايَةُ حُمْرَاءَ

“ [As soon as Muhammed Kásim] arrived at Daibal, he dug an entrenchment, and defended it with spearmen, and unfurled his standard, each band of warriors was arranged under its own standard, and he fixed the Manjaník, which was called “The Bride,” and required the power of five hundred men to work it. There was at Daibal a lofty temple, surmounted by a long pole, and on the pole was fixed a red cloth, which when the breeze blew, was unfurled over the city ”

Shortly afterwards he continues:—

مَوَدَّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ مِنَ الْحَمَّاحِ كِتَابٌ أَنَّ أَنْصَبَ الْعُرُوسِ  
وَأَقْصَرَ مِنْهَا قَائِمَةً وَلَكِنْ مِمَّا يَلِي الْمَشْرِقِ ثُمَّ أَدْعَ صَاحِبَهَا  
فَمَرَّةً أَنْ يَقْصِدَ بِرِمِيَّتِهِ لِلدَّقْلِ الَّذِي وَصَفْتُ لِي مَرَمَى الدَّقْلِ  
فَكَسَرَ فَاشْتَدَّ طَرْدُ الْكُفْرِ مِنْ ذَلِكَ \*

A letter came from Hajjáj to Muhammed to the following effect, “Fix the Manjaník and shorten its feet (foot), and place it on the east, you will then call the Manjaník-master, and tell him to aim at the flagstaff, of which you have given a description ” So he brought down the flagstaff, and it was broken,—at which the Infidels were sore afflicted

On the capture of the town, Biládorí continues to say, the carnage endured for three days, and the priests of the temple were massacred. Other authors say that Muhammed Kásim caused every Bráhmín, from the age of seventeen and upwards, to be put to death ;

and that the young women and children of both sexes were retained in bondage.

Later writers, in speaking of this period, tell us distinctly that fiery projectiles were used in the capture of Alore, which fell shortly after Daibal Mír Ma'súm Bhakarí, in his History of Sind, and Haidar Rází, in his General History, both in the same terms mention fire-playing machines, آتش باری, "which the Arabs had seen in use with the Greeks and Persians;" and again, when Rájá Dáhir was mounted on an elephant, the Arabs took vessels filled with fireworks, حقهای آتش باری, and threw them upon the seat, which was fixed on the back of the elephant; upon which the affrighted animal became ungovernable,\* ran off, and, breaking the ranks of the Hindús, endeavored to throw itself into the river. This, if true, is the first account we have of the use by the Arabs of the incendiary preparations of the Greeks, which has hitherto not been dated earlier than from the siege of Jerusalem in A D. 1099.

This is also related in the Chachnâma and Tohfatu-l-kirâm,† but, in one of the best copies of the Chachnâma I have seen, while there is

\* The alarm with which elephants view fire is frequently a marked feature of Indian warfare, and was never better exemplified than in the gallant night-sally of the Portuguese Governor of Daman upon the camp of Aurangzeb, when an army of forty thousand men was put to flight by the consternation of the elephants at the fireworks incessantly playing upon them. On this occasion, it is said, the Emperor came to a resolution never to attack Europeans any more — *Voyage de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, P II p 289

† See *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, Vol. VII p 307, and Vol. X p 189

mention of the catapulta called "The Bride," which required 500 men to work it, there is no mention of engines throwing fire. Dáhir's elephant is distinctly mentioned to have taken flight at an arrow of naphtha, which the Arab general ordered one of his strong naphtha-throwers to aim at the elephant-seat of Dáhir. (fol. 48 r. and 84 v.).

If we except the Chachnâma, these later testimonies are of little value against the silence of Bilâdorî, and we must reject the story of the projectiles, the *حقهای آنس باری*, though we may admit on the authority of the Chachnâma that a naphtha-arrow was used. The place of action offers the same probability as to the use of such a weapon, as it does in the case of Mahmûd the Ghaznevide, mentioned above.

A few years later, we find one of Muhammed Kâsim's successors using a battering ram.

وَعَرَى الْجَيْدُ الْكَيْرَجَ وَكَانُوا تَدْ بَقَضُوا وَاتَّحَدَ كُنَاتًا بَطَاحَةً نَصَكَّ  
بِأُحَاظِ الْمَدِينَةِ حَتَّى ثَلَمَهُ وَدَخَلَهَا عَمُوهُ فَقَتَلَ وَسَبَى وَعَمَّ  
وَرَجَعَ الْعَمَالُ إِلَى مَرْمَدٍ وَالْمَدَدِلُ وَجَيْدٌ وَبَرْوَصُ \*

And Jonaid fought against Kirej, which had revolted, and he took a battering ram with horns of great power, and demolished with it the walls of the city. He entered the breach, and slew, imprisoned and pillaged the inhabitants. He then sent his officers towards the Nermada, Mandavi? Jhand? and Baroach.

Passing over three centuries, we come to the period of Mahmûd, to which sufficient allusion has already been made

Nearly two centuries after that, a little before A. D. 1200, we come to the Dynasty of the Ghorians, and though no mention is made by the Muhammedan writers of any incendiary preparations used in the wars between the Muhammedans and the Hindús, yet if we are to believe the contemporary Hindú Bard, Chand, we shall find even cannon-balls to be in use at that time.

But it appears to me evident that the passages where they are mentioned are spurious, and interpolated to accommodate the poem to the knowledge of subsequent ages

In the 150th Chhand, or Stanza, of the Canauj-Khand, Tátár Khán says to Muhammed Ghorí, "Oh ! chief of Gajní, buckle on your armour, and prepare your fire-machines " Another meaning may be given to the passage, which, however, would be forced and unnatural.

मिले सेन सुरितान दिशा अनेक दिव्य भर ।

दिव्य पानि पद्धरी सु करि सावस्य पर ॥

गहि कोटु सज्जि गज्जनि सुवर आतस चरित अनत करि ।

आवत पंग सारध सयन मिलि मन थाप्पिय थानलरि ॥

तव कहें साह साहाव अहे तातार थान सुनि

थरा सान खसमा जमनसारूप थान पुनि ॥

*A'tish* is a Persian word, and *Káfi* and *Sultán*, used in the same stanza, are also of foreign stamp; though they no doubt were among the first words of Muhammedan extraction which were introduced into India. The use of *A'tish* renders the passage suspicious In other respects

the verse in which it occurs does not bear the appearance of modern manufacture.

In the 257th stanza, it is said that, "The calivers and cannons made a loud report, when they were fired off, and the noise which issued from the ball was heard at a distance of ten coss " #

नटप पंग नयर झूटे अराव ।  
कोटह कगूर चटि चटि सिताव ॥  
जबूर तोप झूटहि मनकि ।  
दम कोश जाय गोला मनकि ॥  
सिरदार भार वाराह रोह ।  
लगी अबग वर हने कोह ॥

The two lines in which this passage occurs are evidently a modern interpolation, and the lines which precede and follow them are of doubtful antiquity. The words used in the middle lines, though Hindî, seldom occur in ancient authors, and the introduction of *tope* is decisive as to the period of composition.

In the 416th Chhand, we have,—“the *Zambûr* lodged in his breast and he fainted away.—thus fell Râi Govind, the strength of Delhi ”

उबौ हकि कर मारिकै पैज डाल ।  
हनौ चारि मीर दुवाह दुटाल ॥  
हर लगि जबूर आरस पान ।  
परयौ राइ गोविंद दिल्ली भुजान ॥

\* Froissart beats this with his marvellous Bombard at Audenarde, which made such a noise at night, even at the distance of ten leagues, that all the devils of hell could not exceed it

“ Et quand cette Bombarde dechiquoit, on l’ouoit par jour bien de cinq lieues long, et par nuit de dix, et menoit si grande noise au dechiquer, que il sembloit que tous les diables d’enfer fussent au chemin ”  
*Chronicle*, Tom II p 214.

*Zambú* is used in this and in the preceding extract. It is now usually applied to a camel-swivel. It used also to be applied to an arrow, and like *musquet*, *baston*, *bombarde*, and some other words, continued to signify an offensive weapon introduced under the new system of artillery, which followed the invention of gun-powder. The use of the word, therefore, is equivocal, and cannot be pronounced decidedly to mean a fire-arm; though, to be sure, if an arrow were meant, there was no occasion to resort to a foreign word. In other respects, the passage is not open to suspicion.

In A D 1258, we find the Wazír of the king of Dehli going out to meet an ambassador from Halákú, the grandson of Changez Khán, with 3000 carriages of fire-works \*. The same word, *A'tshbázi*, being applied to pyrotechnic displays, as well as artillery, leaves the meaning of the passage ambiguous.

In A D 1368, we have seen (at p 331) Muhammed Sháh Bahmaní I possessing himself, amongst other spoil, of 300 gun-carriages, upon which the translator of *Ferishta* observes in a note, as follows.

If any rebance is to be placed on Moolla Daud Bidury the author of the *Tohfut-oo-Sulateen*, guns were used at this time by the Hindoos, and in a subsequent passage, it is remarked that the Mahomedans used them for the first time during the next campaign. But I am disposed to doubt the validity of both these statements. From the latter passage it seems possible, indeed, that the Mahomedans might have procured guns from the west in 1368, because they are said to have been used eight cars

\* *Ferishta*, Lith Ed Vol I p 123



previously by Edward III at the battle of Cressy, though it is very improbable, and Ferishta, in stating it to be the first time the Mahomedans employed them, also observes, that Turks and Europeans skilled in gunnery, worked the artillery. That guns were in common use before the arrival of the Portuguese in India, in 1498, seems certain, from the mention made of them by Faria-e-Souza.

The testimony as to the skill of the natives in the use of fire-arms, upon the first arrival of the Portuguese, is somewhat contradictory. Maffei says that the Indians far excelled the Portuguese.\* Another author, quoted by Bohlen, speaks of a certain Indian king being in the habit of placing several pieces of brass ordnance in front of his army †

There is certain testimony to the use of cannon in Guzerát before the arrival of the Portuguese; which is easily accounted for by the constant communication at that time with the Turks of Egypt and Arabia. In A. D. 1482 Mahmúd Sháh I of Guzerát is mentioned as fitting out a fleet against the pirates of Bulsar, on board of which he embarked gunners and musketeers from Cambay. Two years after, we find him using cannon to breach the walls of Champanír, and even firing shells at the palace of the Rájá. It is curious that one of the first applications of gunpowder amongst Muhammedan Indians was in the manufacture

\* *Jamque Indici scopi, seu ferreæ fistulæ et sulphureus pulvis longo intervallo Lusitanicis antecellunt* — *Histor. Indic.* p. 25

† *Das alte Indien*, Vol. II p. 63. Rex magnum numerum secum trahit tormentorum æneorum in prælium, quæ solet collocare in fronte exercitûs — Hayus, *de rebus Indicis* p. 698. This may be the same work as is quoted elsewhere as the *Historica Relatio*, Antwerp, 1605, — Bohlen, *ib.* Vol. I p. 102. Vol. II p. 69.

of shells A few years later, Sher Sháh met his death by the explosion of one in his own batteries, when besieging Kálinjar

Castanheda, in describing Vasco de Gama's entrance into Calicut in 1498, says, "The procession again set out, preceded by many trumpets and sacbuts sounding all the way, and one of the Nayres carried a *caliver*, which he fired off at intervals"\*

Two years afterwards the Zamorin cannonaded the Portuguese vessels †

In Castanheda's work, two Milanese lapidaries are said to have deserted, in 1503, to the Zamorin, for whom they offered to make ordnance, resembling that of the Portuguese, "which they afterwards did, as will appear in the sequel of this history, and for which service they were highly rewarded"‡

"This caymal had a force of 3000 Nayres, 700 of whom were archers, and 40 were armed with matchlocks. He had likewise several paiaws provided with ordnance, with which he was supplied by the Zamorin"§

Vertoman says that the Portuguese who entered into the service of the native princes taught them the art of using cannon ||

\* Kerr's *Collection of Voyages*, Vol II p 364 The original has *espingarda*, "que leuava hua *espingarda*, com que tirava de quando au quando"—*Historia do descobrimento*, §c Vol I p 96

† Rowlandson, *Tohfut-ul Mujahideen*, p 81

‡ Kerr, p 454 The fate of these men is shown in the same *Collection*, Vol VII p 128

§ *Ib* Vol II p 459

|| *Ib* Vol. IX p 403

Faria-e-Souza speaks of a Guzerát vessel in A. D. 1500 firing several guns at the Portuguese :\* of the Indians of Calicut using fire-vessels in 1502; and of the Zamorin's fleet carrying in the next year 380 guns.†

In 1511, the Portuguese are opposed at Malacca by a people using cannon, who defend their streets by mining with gunpowder. At sea, they employed floats of wild fire. Muhammed, king of Java, brought 3000 guns to bear, out of the 8000 which he possessed ‡

If we come to later times, we find Báber mentioning that the soldiers in Bengal were expert artillerists;—for which of course they were indebted to the Portuguese. He himself had in his own camp large cannon, which fired huge stones and took a long time to load. He had also several pieces which he styled *Feringís*, showing their European origin.§ Arrows were also used in this action. In another part of his memoirs, Báber speaks of cannon being cast at the capital in his days; but the fact of the welding system being adopted at Dacca in the days of Sháhjehán, does not say much for the efficiency of Bengal artillery a century previous ||

At the battle of Pánípat also, A. D. 1526, Báber had used artillery, “chained together according to the custom of Rúm, with twisted bull-hides.” He alludes no doubt to the victory

\* Faria-e-Souza, *Asia Portuguesa*, Tom. I Part I Chap 5

† *Ib.* Chap 7.

‡ *Ib.* Tom. I Part II Chap 7.

§ Leyden and Erskine, *Memoirs of Baber*, pp. 413—416

|| *Journal de Soc. Bengal* 1847. p 590

gained by Selím over Sháh Ism'aíl in 1514, in which this method had been found very effective. Baber appears to have had no light pieces, for here also arrows were used in skirmishes.

Between every two gun-carriages were six or seven *turas*,\* or breast-works. The matchlockmen stood behind these guns and *turas*, and discharged their matchlocks.

Shortly after this, we begin to have frequent mention of the use of rockets. Indeed, there is much reason to suppose, that as in the west, so in the east, rockets preceded cannon. yet it is strange that they should now be regarded in Europe as the most recent invention of artillery. Under the Emperor Leo the philosopher, who lived at the close of the ninth century, the soldiers of the lower empire used to carry within their shields light tubes (*χερσουργονα*) which were filled with artificial fire, and rushed through the air with extreme velocity. These were made under Leo's own directions.†

In A. D. 1232, the Chinese defended themselves against the Tartars by the use of rockets ‡

\* Mr Erskine observes on this word, that the meaning assigned to *tura* here is conjectural, and on the meaning given by Meninski to *tur*, viz. *reticulatus*. The *turas*, he says, may have been formed of the branches of trees, interwoven like basket-work, so as to form defences, or they may have been covered defences from arrows and missiles, such as we have seen used in several sieges (*Memoirs of Baber*, p. 304). But the word is *túbra*, a wallet or saddle-bag, not *tura*, and Abdu-l-Kadir makes the meaning plain, by saying they were filled with earth. The same author says, that eight-hundred of these gun-carriages were prepared in one day (*Muntakhabu-t-tawarikh*, MS. fol. 67, r.) The sacks used by Sher Sháh as temporary fortifications on his march towards Rájputána, were *túbras* (v. sup. p. 293.)

† *Leonis Tactica*, ap. Meursu Op. vi. 19, 57. *Journal des Savants*, 1847, p. 149.

‡ *A Danduli Chronicon*, ap. Muratori, XII. 448.

In modern Europe there are proofs of their use as early as A. D. 1380.\*

Yet we are informed by the best authorities,† that rockets were first used in warfare at the siege of Copenhagen in 1807. Even in the modern history of India, we cannot fail to be struck with the frequent mention of rockets. Every page of the native historians abounds with notices of their use from Akber to Sháh Alam.‡ The iron work of one has been found to weigh thirty pounds §

It is probable that the indications which we have of the early use of fiery missiles in ancient Indian warfare, refer more to rockets than cannons, and we will now proceed to consider the nature of these weapons.

The passage most commonly quoted to show the early use of fire-arms in India, is extracted from the code of Gentoo laws, where we have the following prohibition:—"The magistrate shall not make war with any deceitful machine, or with poisoned weapons, or with cannon and guns, or any kind of fire-arms." Halhed, commenting on this passage, says:—"The reader will probably from hence renew the suspicion which has long been deemed absurd, that Alexander the Great did absolutely meet with

\* Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* III 1197 XV 769 Ducange, *Glossar. Med. et Inf. Lat.* v Rocheta.

† Perry *Cyclopædia*, v Rocket They were used in the attack of Boulogne in 1806

‡ Gladwin's *History of Jehangir*, p 25. Tennant's *Indian Recreations*, Vol. I p 244

§ Moor's *Hindú Pantheon*, p 229

some weapons of that kind in India, as a passage in Quintus Curtius seems to ascertain Gunpowder has been known in China, as well as Hindustán, far beyond all periods of investigation The word fire-arms is literally the Sanscrit 'Agniaster,' a weapon of fire ; they describe the first species of it to have been a kind of dart, or arrow tipped with fire, and discharged upon the enemy from a bamboo Among several extraordinary properties of this weapon, one was, that after it had taken its flight, it divided into several separate streams of flame, each of which took effect, and which, when once kindled, could not be extinguished, but this kind of 'Agniaster' is now lost \*\* He then goes on to say, that cannon is called "Shat-aghnee," or the weapon that kills one hundred men at once,† and that the Poorán-shásters ascribe the invention of these destructive engines to Viswacarma,‡ the Vulcan of the Hindús,—a name which M Eusebe Salverte§ is tempted to believe furnished the etymology of the French word *vacarme*;—which is about as reasonable as to suppose, that Charivari comes from Chakravarti, because it is a title exclusively

\* Halhed, *Code of Gentoo Laws*, Introduction, p lii See also the *Amera Kosha* and *Sabda Kalpa Drúma* Vol I p 16

† It may well admit of doubt if this was really a cannon In the *Raghuvansa* it is distinctly said, that the "Dæmon laid his non-headed Sataghní upon Ráma, as Kuvera laid his celebrated club upon Jamraj"

अयस्सकु चिता रच शतश्री मय शत्रवे ।

हृता वैवस्वतस्यैव कुटशतमलि मच्चपत ॥

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol I p 264

§ *Philosophy of Magic*, Vol II p 235

devoted to those who have made a considerable noise in the world.

The submarine fire, *Urva*, in the Drama of the *Sakuntala*, where it is called "the mysterious fire which burns in the depth of the seas," has been supposed to allude to a composition similar to Greek fire; but M. Langlois, appealing to an episode from the *Harivansa*, entertains the much more probable opinion, that a submarine volcano is alluded to.\* *Viśwámitra*, who is represented in the *Rámáyana* as giving different kinds of weapons to *Ráma*, speaks of one as *Agrēja*, another as *Shikhara*,

आग्नेयमस्तन्दयितुं शिखरं नान्न नामत ।

Carey and Marshman, who render *Shikhara* as a combustible weapon, deduce from this passage that the ancient Hindús were acquainted with gunpowder. The passage, however, seems to contain a mere poetic fiction. The author there speaks of numerous kinds of weapons, some of which were evidently imaginary, as for instance, the *Vayava* or *any*. The *Harivansa* speaks of the fiery weapon thus :—

आग्नेयमस्तु लब्ध्वा च मार्गवात्सरो नृप ॥  
जिगाय श्रियिवी हत्वा तालजङ्घान्सहैहयान् ।

\* See M. Chézy, *La Reconnaissance de Sacountala*, p. 213. Wilson *Sanskrit Dictionary*, वाडव and वदवान्त *Sabda Kalpa Drúma*, Vol. III p. 2489, and Eusebe Salverte, *Occult Sciences*, Eng. Trans. Vol. II p. 223 where, in allusion to this passage, it is said, "The fire which burns and crackles on the bosom of the waves denotes that the Greek fire was anciently known in Hindustan under the name of *Barruca*."

“ King Sagara having received *fire arms* from Bhárgava,<sup>\*</sup> conquered the world, after slaying the Talyanghas and the Haihayas ”

Again, the same .

उर्वसु जातकर्मादि तस्य कृत्वा महात्मन ॥  
अध्याय वेदानखिलास्ततो ज्ञम्रत्य पादयत् ।  
आग्नेयन्तु महाबाहु रमरैरपि दुस्सहम् ॥  
सतेनास्त्र वलेनाजौ वलेनच समन्ति ।

“ Aurva having performed the usual ceremonies on the birth of the great-minded (prince), and having taught him the Vedas, instructed him in the use of arms, the great-armed (Aurva) (presented him) the fiery weapon,<sup>†</sup> which even the immortals<sup>‡</sup> could not stand ”

The following lengthy description in the *Srí Bhágavat* of the discharge of the *Brahmástra* is somewhat peculiar. It is needless to extract the entire passage from the original

तमापतन्त सविलोक्य दूरात्कुमारहोदिग्रमनारथेन ॥  
पराद्रवत्प्राण परीप्सुर्व्या यावद्गम रुद्रभयाद्यथाक ।  
यदाशरणमात्मान मैक्षत आन्तवाजिनम् ॥  
अस्त्रमूर्च्छशिरो मेन आत्मवाण द्विजात्मज ।  
अथोपसृष्ट्य सलिल सन्दधे तत् समाहित ॥  
अजानन्नपि संहार प्राणकृच्छ्र उपस्थिते ।  
तत प्रादुष्कृत तेज प्रचण्ड सर्वतो दिशम् ॥  
प्राणापद मग्निप्रेक्ष्य विष्णु जिष्णुस्वाचह ।

“The murderer of the princes (Ashwatháma) seeing him advancing from a distance, was much alarmed, and fled for his

\* M Langlois observes that these fire arms appear to have belonged to the Bhárgavas, the family of Bhṛgu — *Harivansa*, p 68

† M Langlois translates it, *arme de feu* in this and the preceding passage. The whole legend of Orva and Ourva will be found in the *Harivansa*, Vol I, p 211 where the translator considers that some kind of Greek fire is alluded to

‡ It is impossible not to be struck with the resemblance between the fights of Demons and Immortals in the *Shástras* and the war of the Titans against Saturn, and of the Giants against Jupiter, and in nothing is it more striking than in the use of fiery weapons and thunders. It is worthy of remark that those contests are of late importation into Greek mythology. Homer and Hesiod are silent on the subject, on which so many later writers have employed their imagination

§ Wilson, in his *Sanscrit Dictionary*, s v calls it “the *Brahma* weapon, a fabulous weapon originally from *Brahma*”



life in his car, like Brahma running away for fear of Shiva, as far as it was possible to go on the earth. When his horses being fatigued, he considered himself without help, the Brahmin's son looked upon the *Brahmástra* as his only refuge. Accordingly, having washed his hands, and fixed his mind, he adjusted, and discharged it, though he did not know how to draw it in, in case of danger. Arjuna seeing a glaring light flaming on all sides, and considering his life in danger, spoke to Krishna 'O Krishna! Krishna! thou great armed! thou who makest thy followers fearless! thou art the only deliverance for those who burn in the world. Thou art the first Being, absolute God, superior to Prákṛiti itself. Thou dwellest in the spirit alone by the power of intellect, giving up *Máyá*. Thou ordamest by thine own power the righteousness and well-being of all people, whose minds are blinded by *Máyá*. Even now thou art incarnate, in order to bear the burden of the world, and even to help thine own people, who think of no body else. Oh God of Gods! I know not whence this is, or what it is. I see a fearful light coming from all sides.' Krishna's answer.—'Know this to be the *Brahmástra*, of the son of Drona. He does not know how to draw it in, in case of danger. He has no other counteracting weapon. Thou art well skilled in arms, destroy the force of this by the power of thy arms.' Súta continued 'Arjuna the destroyer of hostile chiefs, having heard Krishna's language, and having washed his hands, discharged his *Brahmástra* against that of his antagonist. The fury of the two fiery darts acting against each other overspread the heavens and earth, and waxed strong like the burning rays of the sun. The three worlds were illuminated by the great light of the two weapons, the inhabitants were all burnt, and believed the end of the world to be at hand. Arjuna observing the calamity which befell the world and the distress of the people, drew in both weapons agreeably to Krishna's wishes."

In a note on the subject of the *Brahmástra*, the Rev Krishna Mohan Banerjea, to whom I am indebted for the preceding reference, observes in his excellent work "the *Encyclopædia Bengalensis*," that the *Brahmástra* was probably a piece of musketry, not unlike the modern matchlocks.\*

The *Srī Bhágavat* makes mention also of Aswatháma's discharging his *Brahmástra* against

\* *Encycl Beng* Vol. III p 21.

Uttara while she was with child, with a view to destroy her embryo ; and Khrishna, the constant friend of the Pándavas, is represented as saving her by his superhuman power The *Deví Purán* says that Brahma made the instrument for the purpose of killing Narain \* The curious part in the preceding description is the drawing the missile back In this respect it has some resemblance to the *Boomerang* of the Australian savages. An account of this magic stick, which returns to the persons who threw it, is subjoined †

\* *Sabda Kalpa Drúma*, Vol III p 839

† This instrument is a flat curved piece of hard wood, about eighteen inches long, three inches wide in the middle, tapering off towards the extremities, and nearly half an inch thick, the native ones are very roughly finished, and vary in size considerably, which is of no importance it is used either to bring down birds in their flight, or to arrest the progress of men or animals until they can be dispatched by other means, but its singular property is that of returning to the thrower, which has often excited the astonishment of travellers, and the incredulity of those who have only heard of it, until it has now become quite familiar This curious fact has been related in such a manner as to render it much more extraordinary than it really is when correctly stated, for if it touch any object in its flight it will not return, although, by some, it has been supposed capable of killing an animal and then returning to the thrower

The principle on which it acts merits some investigation, and I think I shall be able to prove that this peculiar property does not depend wholly on its form, although the one adopted may be the most convenient for the purpose Any thin flat body, whatever may be its form, will exhibit the same phenomenon, provided a rapid rotation round its centre of gravity be communicated at the same time that it is projected forward at a considerable angle of elevation The natives are of course perfectly ignorant of the principles, and, like all other savages, confine their knowledge to effects

Many familiar instances of rotation causing bodies to return, after being projected forward, may be adduced a hoop, for example, will return, if thrown forward with a sudden jerk inwards from the upper part of its circumference A billiard ball, struck with force and dexterity just below its centre may be made to pass from one end of the table to the other and return without having touched the cushion The blow in this direction gives the ball a rapid rotation towards the striker, and at the same time drives it forward, not rolling, but sliding along the cloth, and revolving in an opposite direction, the moment

In the Mahābhārata we read of a “flying ball emitting the sound of a thunder-cloud,” which Bopp considers to apply to a meteor, though the Scholiast is express in referring it to Artillery.\*

the friction has overcome the projectile force, the ball rolls back by virtue of the original revolving motion communicated to it by the stroke of the queue.

Another instance less known, I have already mentioned in a former part, namely, that of a bullet discharged from a crooked barrel, being thrown at long distances, in an opposite direction to the curvature

The *boomerang*, however, is influenced by different causes. To exhibit the phenomenon properly, it must be thrown into the air with great force, at an angle of 50° or 60° of elevation, and by an inward motion of the wrist [difficult to describe and not easy to execute], a rapid spin must be communicated to it, otherwise it will not return. I have repeatedly thrown it forward, upwards of forty yards, and it has returned backwards over my head, and fallen fifteen or sixteen yards behind me. If pieces of card be cut in various forms, rectangular, oval, circular, and semi-circular, all of them will return across a room more or less, when projected from the fingers at a considerable angle of elevation with a rapid rotary motion, and it is immaterial whether the rotation be from right to left, or the contrary, the only effect of the rotation being to keep them nearly in the same plane of air as that in which they were propelled, and thus prevent them from obtaining an horizontal position to which they always incline from the situation of the centre of gravity; thus, if left to themselves, they would present their broad surfaces to the air, and descend nearly in a perpendicular direction as soon as the projectile force ceased to operate, if unaccompanied by rotation, but the rotation, continuing after the projectile force has ceased, causes them to slide down the inclined plane of air up which they were thrown, merely because it is *the line of least resistance*, that is they cannot descend perpendicularly, because their broad surfaces are opposed to the resistance of the air in that direction while their edges are inclined to the same angle as that in which they were projected. These are the principles on which the *boomerang* acts, for if it be thrown forward at a small elevation or horizontally, the rotation has no tendency to cause its return, it therefore proceeds forward, cutting the air always in that direction which opposes the least resistance, exactly in the same manner as any other body having a thin edge in one direction and extent of surface in another for which reason it often winds round and performs a variety of curious and amusing gyrations in the air which depend on the relative degrees of projectile and rotatory force communicated to it and the currents of air through which it moves but in these instances, although it may describe a semi-circle, or even return within the line in which it was thrown, it never returns to the thrower—Wilkinson, *Engines of War* pp 290—294

\* Bopp, *Anmerkungen zu Ardschuna's Himmelfahrt*, p 74 Bohlen, *des elite Indien*, II 66 See also Theodore Benfey, *Indien*, p 239

In this place observation may be drawn to the very singular relation of a combustile, which occurs in the Extract from the *Mujmalu-t-Ta-wáríkh*, given above at p 272, where we read that the Bráhmíns counselled Hál to have an elephant made of clay, and to place it in the van of his army, and that when the army of the king of Cashmír drew nigh, the elephant exploded, and the flames destroyed a great portion of the invading force. Here we have not only the simple act of explosion, but something very much like a fuze, to enable the explosion to occur at a particular period. The testimony is valuable, for the work was translated as early as A D 1126 from the Arabic, which had been translated a century previous from a Sanscrit original, even then acknowledged to be very old.

We have other eastern stories all bearing much the same character, and all composed long before the invention of gunpowder.

Firdúsi, who died A D 1020, tells us that the troops of Sicander (Alexander the Great) were greatly terrified at the sight of the two thousand elephants, which Fúi had brought into the field, and that some philosophers were requested to consult together to contrive some means of counteracting this tremendous force. They suggested the construction of an iron horse, and the figure of a rider, also of iron, to be placed upon wheels like a carriage, and filled with naphtha, so that on coming in contact

with the elephants, the whole engine might explode.\* The monarch approved of this invention, and collected all the blacksmiths and artizans in the country, to construct a thousand machines of this description with the utmost expedition. The consequence was, that when Fúr advanced to the attack, the combustibles were fired by the Grecians, and the horses exploding, many of the elephants were burnt and destroyed, and the rest, together with the army, fled away in confusion.†

یکی بارگی ساختند آهیین	سواری راهن و راهنش رین
سمیع و نمس دررها دوخته	سوار و تن ناره امروخته
نگردون همین راند پیسش سپاه	درویش بیاگند نعت سیاه
سکندر دیدان پسند آمدش	خرد مند را سودمند آمدش
بفرمود تاران فرون صد هزار	راهن نکردند اسپ و سوار
باسپ و نه نعت آتش اندر دزد	همه لسكر فور بر سر زدند
ار آتش بر امروخت نعت سیاه	نجدید آران کا هیین بد سیاه
چوپیلان ندیدند رایسان گریز	برفتند نالسكر ارجای تیر
همه لسكر هدد گشتند بار	همان زنده پیلاں گردن فرار

M. Eusebe Salverte‡ gives the same story from the lately discovered life of Alexander by

\* This reminds us of Planearpin's story of Prester-John. The Tartars informed the monk, that Prester-John, when attacked by the son of Changez Khán, led against his assailants figures of bronze, mounted on horseback. The inside of these figures was filled with fire, and behind each, there was a man, who threw something within them, which immediately produced an immense smoke. *Voyage de Planearpin*, v. 42, ap. *Phil of Magic*, Vol. II p. 236.

† *Sháh-náma*, Turner Macan's Edit. Vol. III. p. 1308.

‡ *Phil of Magic*, Vol. II p. 223.

J Vactrius, referring to the *Biblioth Univers Litt* Tom VII pp 225, 226

It is not improbable that the *rolling horses*, mentioned in a Chinese account of India, were used for a similar purpose “The Indians are timid in battle, their weapons are the bow and arrows, and shield. They have also, like the Chinese, flying, or winged, ladders; and according as the ground will permit, they follow the rules of the *wooden oven* and *rolling horses*”\*

Cazvíní, writing at the close of the thirteenth century, says, in his Chapter on the Islands of the Indian sea, that the inhabitants of a certain island petitioned Alexander to free them of an enormous dragon, who used to require two bulls for his daily sustenance, and if he did not get them, he would take his revenge by laying waste the fields and killing men and women: “which when Alexander heard, he ordered the hides of two bulls to be brought, and stuffed them with pitch, sulphur, lime and arsenic, together with iron hooks, and then directed that they should be placed where the dragon used to come for his daily food. The dragon came, and devoured them as usual, but as he was retiring towards his den, a flame was kindled in his belly, and the hooks adhered to his entrails, so that he died”†

The following extract from the *Sháhnáma* relates to the same story:—

\* Ma-twam-lin, *Deep Researches into ancient monuments*, translated in *As Journal*, 1836 Vol XX p 218

† Gorres, *Heldenbuch von Iran*, II 387

سوی از دها روی بد بهاد تفت	بیا کند چرمش بر سر و به تفت
رداد از یکی دهش یاد کرد	بدم پوستها را پرار باد کرد
همه دست بردست بگدا شدند	بفرمود تا پوست برداشتند
سان یکی ابرو بدش سیده	چو بد یکی از دها رمت شاه
شمی اتش آمد رکامش برون	ربانش نمود و چشمش چو حور
بر آن از دها دل به برداشتند	چو گوار سر کوه بینداختند
چو آمد رچنگ دلیران رها	مرو برد چون باد گوار دها
بر اندام رهرش پرا گند شد	چو آبوست پیوندش اگده شد

Western authors also connect Alexander's name with many anecdotes relating to the use of incendiary preparations in warfare. These accounts, combined with those given by Oriental writers, make it difficult to believe that the ancient Indians did not possess a knowledge of some substances which had much the same power and effect as gunpowder. Philostratus says :—

“Had Alexander passed the Hyphasis, he never could have made himself master of the fortified habitation of these sages. Should an enemy make war on them, they drive him off by means of tempests and thunders, as if sent down from heaven. The Egyptian Hercules and Bacchus made a joint attack on them, and by means of various military engines attempted to take the place. The sages remained unconcerned spectators, until the assault was made, when it was repulsed by fiery whirlwinds and thunders, which, being hurled from above, dealt destruction on the invaders.”\*

Themistius also mentions the Bráhmins fighting at a distance, with lightnings and thunders †

\* Philostrati *Vit Apollon* Lib II C 33

† *Orat XXVII* p 337, ap Dutens, *Origine des découvertes attribuées aux Modernes*, p. 196. Maurice, *Mod Hist of Hindustan*, Vol. I p 144

Alexander's use of incendiary compositions is a favorite topic with the early romancists. One was furnished to him by a certain Alcays, with which he fired the city of Tyre from a mangonel. No doubt this instructor is the same as the Keyd of the *Sháhnáma*, the Kefend of the *Mujmalu-t-Tawáríkh* and the Kend of *Mas údí* \*

In the famous treatise of Marcus Græcus, entitled *Libri ignium ad combuendos hostes*, we find recipes headed,—“*Ignis quem invenit Aristoteles, quando cum Alexandro rege ad obscura loca iter ageret* ;” and again, “*Sequitur alia species ignis, quo Aristoteles domos in montibus sitas destruxit incendio*” The use of fire, however, is so obvious an auxiliary, that we are surprised it is not more often mentioned. Thucydides speaks of it at the siege of Plataea (II. 77). Livy mentions the use of *τυροβολοι* by the Ætolians (xxxviii. 6) and Æneas, the tactician, who lived about the time of Aristotle, enjoins its use in his valuable *Commentarius Polygoneticus*,—J. C. Orelli, Leipzig, 1818. Some other early instances are adduced in note D.

In the apocryphal letter of Alexander to Aristotle, we find mention made of the terrific flashes of flame, which he beheld showered on his army on the burning plains of India. Dante has immortalised the tradition —

Quali Alessandro in quelle parti calde  
D'India vide sovra lo suo stolo

\* *Histoire de l'artillerie*, p. 48, *Fragments Arabes*, p. 45. *Sháhnáma*, Vol. III. p. 1290.



Fiamme cadere infino a terra salde,  
 Perch' ei provvide a scalpitar lo suolo  
 Con le sue schiere, perciocchèl vapore  
 Me' si stingueva, mentre ch' era solo;  
 Tale scendeva l'eternale ardore *Inferno*, xiv 31—7.

Ctesias says that the Indians manufactured an oil on the banks of the river Indus, enclosed in earthen jars, and that on being shot out against woodworks, a flame was kindled, which could only be extinguished by a quantity of mud, thickly laid on it; that it was manufactured solely for the king; and no one else was allowed to have it in his possession.\*

Ælian, while he quotes Ctesias, at the same time improves upon this relation. He says that the oil has such strength, that it not only burns up wood, but men and animals, and, indeed, anything it touches; that the king of the Indians takes cities by its means; that no battering-ram, or other poliorcetic machine, can resist it; earthen jars are filled with it, and thrown upon city gates; the jars being fractured, the oil spreads, and is inextinguishable and insatiable, burning both arms and fighting men †

Philostratus, speaking of the same, says, there is in the Hyphasis an insect which looks like a white worm, producing an oil, from which issues a flame of such a nature, that it can only be extinguished by mud.‡ This insect is the

\* *Ctesiae Indica Excerpta* xxvii Ed Baer, p 356.

† *De Naturâ Animal* Lib V Cap 3

‡ *πηλοῦ* The edition of Olearius reads *ὕδατος*, which is followed by Berwick, who translates it "only to be contained in a glass vial,"—which is very forced and unnatural, besides, the former is used both by Ctesias and Ælian

king's sole property, and is used by him in destroying the walls of besieged towns, for the moment it touches the battlements, it is said to kindle such a flame, as cannot be put out by any of the ordinary means for extinguishing fire \*

These three authors concur in representing that this oil is procured from a worm, *σκόληξ*, which must be a pretty large one, as it is seven cubits long, and of proportionate breadth. However fabulous may be the origin of this product, we cannot entertain a doubt that it was something highly inflammable and destructive.

This river worm is described as having two teeth, one above and one below, and with them devouring whatever comes within its reach. During the day, it burrows in the mud, but at night, emerges on the land, and carries off oxen, and even camels. It is taken with a large hook, to which a goat or sheep is fastened with an iron chain. When captured, it is hung up for a month, with vessels placed underneath, into which runs as much oil as would fill ten Attic cotylæ. Professor H. H. Wilson considers that the alligator is alluded to. He is not, however, aware that oil is extracted from the alligator, but at the dissection of one at which he assisted, "enormous masses of yellow fat were found under the skin, which might have been converted into oil"†

\* Philostratus *Vita Apollonii*, Lib. III. Cap. 1

† Notes on *Ctesias*, p. 61

But there can be no doubt about alligatör—or rather, when referring to India, crocodile—oil; for almost all the native works on *Materia Medica* notice it, and ascribe wonderful properties to it. Even in the crocodile's products live the wonted alarms which its natural voracity inspires. Happy the man in whose frail bark its oil, or fat, burns! Him will not assail the croak of frogs, croak they never so hoarsely.\* Let it even be mixed with wax, let even the rains be the season of their operations, and their eternal croaking, while it may be distracting the ears of his next neighbours, is as inaudible to him, as if he were in Seriphus or Sicendus † Happy the he-goat on whose forehead it is rubbed † for he can put to flight all competitors. Happy the city which has its skin † for if drawn round the walls and suspended from the entrance gate, no hail will fall within it, or blast the tender crops of its inhabitants; ‡

\* The Greeks attributed this miraculous effect to the burning of *any* lamp Africanus says —

Βάτραχοι σιωπήσουσι κράζοντες, ἐὰν λύχρον ἄψας θῆς τρὸς τὴν ὕχθην

† See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* Lib. VIII. C. 58 and Tzetzes, *Chiliad*, 8

‡ *Tohfatu-l-Mi'mentu* See also Muhammed Husain's *Makhzan-i Adviya*, Hooghli Ed. Vol. I. p. 425

The prescription in the text affords another curious coincidence between Asiatic and European superstitions. The value of the crocodile's skin in averting hail was well known to the Greeks and Romans, and the same mode of circuit and suspension was adopted.

Grandini creditur obviare, si quis crocodili pellem vel hyænae vel marini vituli per spatia possessionis circumferat, et in villæ aut cortis suspendat ingressu, cum malum viderit imminere — Palladius, *De Re Rusticâ*, Lib. I. Tit. 35

Again, an unknown author in the *Geoponical Collection* of Cassianus Bassus says —

Πάλιν ἐὰν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ περιαγάγῃς ὑαίνης ἢ κροκοδείλου ἢ φώκης δέρμα, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς πυλῶν τῆς οἰκῆσεως ἀναρτήσῃς, οὐ πεσεῖται χάλαζα — *Geoponicorum*, Lib. I. Cap. λιν.

nec illos  
Expectata seges vanis eludet arstis.  
*Georg I 226*

On the whole, then, we may conclude, that fire arms of some kind were used in the early stages of Indian History,\* that the missiles were explosive, and that the time or mode of ignition was dependent on pleasure, that projectiles were used, which were made to adhere to gates, buildings, and machines, setting fire to them from a considerable distance; that it is probable that saltpetre, the principal ingredient of gunpowder, and the cause of its detonation, entered into the composition, because the earth of Gangetic India is richly impregnated with it in a natural state of preparation, and it may be

\* From the annexed extract it will be seen that the subject has just been discussed by the person most competent to illustrate it

June 17—Prof Wilson in the chair—The Director, Prof Wilson, read to the Asiatic Society a paper written by himself, ‘On the Military Science of the Ancient Hindûs’ The paper began with the observation, that although the Hindûs had always been inferior to their foreign invaders in practical warfare, they were probably superior to them in its theory A supplementary portion of their Vedas, or Sacred Institutes, was devoted to the science of war, under the denomination of Dhanuk Veda This original treatise is probably lost, but many interesting particulars are derivable from the Agni Purana, the Mahâ-bhârata, and other of their standard works The bow appears to have been their chief weapon (as is demonstrated by the word Dhanuk a bow, in the name Dhanuk Veda), but other missile arms, as the discus, javelins, short iron clubs, &c were used The troops were also generally armed with swords, maces, axes and spears, and defended by helmets, quilted jackets, and coats of mail Their armies were theoretically arranged in bodies of relative proportions, consisting of elephants, chariots, horse, and foot—the former being equal in number, and the latter in the proportion of three horsemen and five footmen for each chariot The number of chariots and elephants is the great characteristic of Hindû warfare, and it is remarkable that in their heroic poems the heroes are generally represented as riding in a chariot, and never on a horse In a few cases they are mentioned as coming to battle on an elephant, but in the course of time horses have entirely superseded chariots in India as in Britain, where the chariot once played so important a part in battle The paper proceeded with

extracted from it by lixiviation and crystallization without the aid of fire; and that sulphur may, for the same reason, have been mixed with it, as it is abundant in the north-west of India.

This destructive agent appears to have fallen into disuse before we reach authentic history, and, notwithstanding the assertions to the contrary, there seems reason to suppose that, at the time of the Muhammedan invasion, the only inflammable projectiles which were known were of a more simple nature, composed chiefly, if not entirely, of bituminous substances,—from naphtha, the most liquid, to asphaltum, the most solid of them,—and that, whether from cumbrousness or “ineffectual fires,” they were very rarely brought into action.

It is not to be gathered for certain that the natives of southern India were superior in the

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a description of the various sorts of bows, arrows, and other weapons used by the ancient Hindús. The question as to the knowledge of gunpowder, or any similar explosive substance, by the ancient people of India, said the Professor, is one of great historical interest. It is clear from their medical works that they were acquainted with the constituents of gunpowder, and possessed them in great abundance; and our acquaintance with their literature is as yet too imperfect to warrant a reply in the negative because we have not met with a positive account of the invention. Their writings make frequent reference to arms of fire, and rockets—which appear to be an Indian invention, though not mentioned by name in Sanscrit writings—had long been used in their armies when Europeans first came in contact with them. Tactics also were not omitted in Hindú military science. The division of the army into centre, flanks, wings, and reserve, is laid down, and rules for the order of march, the modes of overcoming obstacles, the choice of a position, and the different kinds of array, are given, and illustrated by quotations from the Agni Purána. The subject of encampment received attention, in illustration of which the paper concluded with a quotation from the Mahá-bhárata, describing in considerable detail the pitching of Yudhishtira's camp upon a level and fertile spot on the banks of the Himanvati, agreeably to the precepts laid down for the regulation of the practice.—*Athenæum* July, 8, 1848.

use of Artillery to the Portuguese on their first arrival ; but, even if they were, they might easily have acquired their skill from Egypt, Persia, and Arabia, with which during the period of Muhammedan supremacy there was constant communication ; so that there is nothing in the testimony of either native or foreign witnesses sufficiently positive to lead to the conclusion, that, in modern times at least, the knowledge of fire-arms was indigenous in India, and antecedent to their use in Europe.



## XXIX.

## تاریخ حاکمان ہند

TĀRIKH-I-HAKIMAN-I-HIND

A history of India ; comprising an Introduction, twelve Sections and Supplement.

Introduction The sovereigns of India, from Shem, the son of Noah, to Anand Deo

1st Sect —The Sultāns of Lahore, from Násiru-d-dín Sabuktigin, to Khusrú, son of Khusrú Sháh

2nd Sect —Kings of Dehl, from Mu'izzu-d-dín Muhammed Sám to Akber

3rd Sect —Kings of the Deccan in six Chapters, treating of the Kings of Kalburga, Bījápúr, Ahmednagar, Telingána, Berár and Beder

4th Sect —Princes of Guzerát

5th Sect —Princes of Málwa

6th Sect —Princes of Burhánpúr

7th Sect —Kings of Bengal

8th Sect —Kings of Sindh and Tatta

9th Sect —Princes of Multán

10th Sect —Kings of Cashmír

11th Sect —Rulers of Malabár

12th Sect —The holy men of Hindústán

Supplement.—A description of Hindústán

Author unknown ; the work appears to be an abridgement of Ferishta \*

\* Mackenzie Collection, Vol II p. 126.

## XXX

## مآثر رحيمي

## MĀSIR-I-RAHĪMĪ

Dr Lee observes of this work, that "it is a valuable and elaborate history of the Emperors and other eminent men of Tartary, Hindústán, &c by Muhammed Abd-el-Bákí el Rahímí el Nahavendí In large folio, containing about 4000 pages"\* Major Stewart describes it as "Memoirs of Abd-l-rahim Khan, Khan Khanan, Wazir, and of all the illustrious nobles, authors, and poets, who resided at the Court of Akber. Author, Abdu-l-Bakí, A. D 1613"†

These authors differ much in their account of the work. both are partly right and partly wrong. There is no account of the Emperors and other eminent men of Tartary, if we except the account of 'Abdu-r-rahím's ancestors, and the biographical details do not concern the Court of Akber, but belong almost entirely to the Deccan. A great portion of the work is devoted to an ample detail of the transactions of his patíon, the Khán Khánán, his sons and progenitors, and though he certainly was of

\* *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. xiv

† *Descriptive Catalogue of Tippoo Sultán's Library*, p. 14.



sufficient eminence to deserve a full biography, it is here written, as usual under such circumstances, in so fulsome a strain of eulogy, that it is difficult to know what faith to put in it. The first Book contains Indian History, not sufficiently comprehensive to be of any essential service, but it is so far valuable that it does not literally copy Ferishta, which can rarely be said of any other author who has followed in the same line. Nizámu-dín is his great guide, and his alarm at attempting any period of history not already occupied by another, is shown by the extract taken from the close of his account of Akber. The work also contains a Tazkira, or notices of poets, with long extracts from their writings, and it will be seen from the following Table of Contents that nearly one third of the volume is devoted to that object;—the accounts of the poets extending from p. 990 to p. 1454.

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Book II—The virtues and victories of 'Abdu-r-rahím, with copies of firmáns addressed to him, and of some of his compositions, including also an account of the rulers of Gujrát, p 621,—of Sind, p 696,—of Deccan, p. 776,—of Khándes, p. 808,—pp. 606—922.

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Conclusion—in a Preface and three\* Chapters, (1) on contemporary philosophers, physicians, and other celebrated men, 31 persons, p 962, (2) poets, including the author, 92 persons, p 990, (3) on the military officers under command of the Khán Khánán, 44 persons, p 1454, —pp 969—1513

SIZE—Folio, 1513 pages, each containing 25 lines There are a few blank pages, which are about equal to the marginal additions

The author, 'Abdu-l-Bákí, Nahávendí, composed his work under the encouragement he received from Abú-l-faiz Faizí, brother of Abú-l-fazl, and 'Abdu-l-rahím, Khán Khánán, son of Bairam Khán He gives a little information respecting himself and his ancestry, referring for more copious particulars to Takíu-d-dín's Tazkíra, entitled Másíru-l-Khizríá, which was dedicated and named after his brother, Aghá Khizr, and to 'Abdu-l-M'álí's Tazkíra, which is dedicated to Sháh 'Abbás; and as "self-praise is a great fault," he refers to them, rather than repeat in this work what they have said respecting him In them also will be found a full account of his family and connections, as well of his patron, the Khán Khánán His family was originally from Júlak,† "which contains more than 30,000 houses," but in consequence of the contentions which arose during

\* In the body of the work, the Chapters are said to amount to four, but the Preface states that the Conclusion is divided into three Chapters, and the detail shows that there are only three

† For the correct mode of writing this word, see Ouseley's *Persian Travels*, Vol II p 3

the reign of Sháh Ism'íl Safví, his family left Júlak and went to reside at Nehávend

The author states that his ancestors were Generals under Afrásiáb, and that they held the lands of Júlak in rent-free tenure from Sháh Ism'íl. His most noted ancestor was Aká Bába, who resided at Hamadán. His brother was made Deputy Governor of Hamadán in the time of Sháh 'Abbás. Amír Takí Muhammed has noticed the excellence of his administration in the Tazkira which he has written, and many memorials of his munificence exist in the neighbourhood, especially the embankment at Káshán and the avenue of trees, of which our author for a long time enjoyed the proceeds.

He appears, for some reason or other, to have given dissatisfaction to the reigning monarch, Sháh 'Abbás; on account of which, he determined upon quitting his native country, and, at the invitation of Abú-l-faiz Faízí and 'Abdu-r-rahím Khán, was induced to visit Hindústán, and arrived at Burhánpúr in Khándes in A. H. 1023, where he was received with kindness, and presented with a Jágír. He completed his work in A. H. 1025—A. D. 1616—calling it Másir-i-rahímí, after his patron, in whose praise he has inserted many pieces of poetry in the body of the work, and declares his intention of continuing these laudatory effusions till the day of his death

#### EXTRACTS

When the knowledge of Kaikobád's having abandoned himself to pleasure and revelry was spread abroad, strumpets, jesters,

singing-men and singing-women flocked from all quarters to the Court, and the very name of sorrow and melancholy was banished from men's hearts. There was not a moment without its peculiar amusement, and the assemblies at the palace were filled with wags, pot-companions, mistresses and sodomites, amongst whom the king distributed his presents and tokens with a most lavish profusion \*

Malik Nizámu-d-dín, the minister, was a sinful and disingenuous man, and the nobles of Balban's time, who were the pillars and supports of the throne, were much alarmed at the power and influence which he possessed, and used their best endeavours to secure his good will. The minister, who was a man of no sense or capacity, when he saw the nobles obsequiously devoted to his wishes, and the king revelling in his debaucheries, without any title whatever aspired to the throne, and took measures to extirpate the family of Balban. In order to effect his absurd project, he represented to the Sultán that Kai-Khusrú, who was associated with him in the sovereignty, and was endowed with many kingly virtues, was looked on as the heir of the throne, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the people, as well as with the chiefs and grandees. The Sultán giving ear to these representations, summoned Kai-Khusrú to his presence, and ordered that innocent prince to be murdered on his arrival at the town of Rohtak

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Mubárák returned to Delhi and became engrossed in the sensual pleasures to which he was addicted. His cousin, Malik Rashídu-d-dín, seeing the Sultan constantly drunk, resolved on usurping the throne, but some informer revealed the plot, and Rashídu-d-dín was apprehended and put to death, and some assassins were sent to Gwáhar to murder Khizr Khán, Shádí Khán, and Malik Shahábu-d-dín, sons of Sultán Alá'u-d-dín, who had been previously blinded upon the king's accession. After their murder, their wives and children were sent to Delhi \* \* \*

He emulated his father in the refinement of his tortures and murders. He slew Zafar Khán for no offence whatever, as well as Malik Sháhí, who was styled Wafá-i-mulk, and committed every kind of crime and vice, which could lead to the downfall of the empire. He actually clothed himself in female apparel, and accompanied by several impudent and abandoned women, used to attend like a common actress at the houses of the nobility. He used to display himself openly naked before all men. These,

\* One might almost fancy he was reading a Lakhnau Akhbár. This propensity for whores, fiddlers, parasites and buffoons is the besetting sin of the Princes of India even at the present day. With lamentably few exceptions, their occupations rarely rise above the low level indicated in the text.

and other obscenities too gross to mention, were the daily occupations of the king. \* \* \*

When Khusrú Khán arrived at Ma'bar, of which he had been nominated Governor, the chiefs absconded with their property and treasures, but Khrósh Tabí, a merchant, confiding in the honor of the Mohammedan army, remained. Nevertheless he was plundered of all he possessed, and was put to death. Khusrú Khán, obeying the dictates of his evil disposition, thought proper to aspire to independence, and sought how he might slay the chiefs associated with him. Malik Timúr, the Governor of Candahar, and Malik Habib Afghán, being informed of his intentions, anticipated his measures, and determined on sending him to Dehli: but he, alarmed at the threats of the nobles, set off in a Palki and arrived in seven (7) days from Deogarh to Dehli. The nobles entertained the persuasion that they would get thanked for their devotion, but when Khusrú Khán arrived, and had a personal interview with the king, he complained against the nobles, whom he accused of a desire to assassinate him. The king, who was quite infatuated in his attachment to Khusrú Khán, placing implicit reliance on all the lies he uttered, was very angry with the nobles, and on their arrival at Dehli, when they were prepared to lay bare his imposture, and adduced evidence to that effect, it was all of no use, for they as well as their witnesses, were punished, so that they were compelled again to court the good graces of the favorite, and to deny all that they had previously asserted.

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### *Account of the building of a private Chapel.*

As his Majesty Akbar, from his very earliest youth was, under the guidance of his excellent disposition, charmed with the companionship of wise men, and was fond of holding literary assemblies, and as he delighted in hearing the subtilties of various sciences, ancient and modern, and possessed a perfect knowledge of the history of religions and of ancient nations, as well as of what was passing in the world, and actuated by the delight which he experienced from the society of men competent to discuss these themes, he gave orders on his return from Aynár in the month Zú'ád 982, that his architects and builders should erect a place of worship and retirement near the Palace, to which no one should gain admittance but Sufyids, learned men, and religious characters.

The architects consequently laid the foundation of such a hall containing four entrances, and from the time that it was finished, his Majesty collected the learned and holy men on Thursday and the other fortunate nights, and continued his interviews and disputations till the morning. To secure order, he directed

that the Saiyids should occupy the western recess, the wise men and philosophers the southern, holy men and visionaries the northern, and the nobles and officers of state, who were in the habit of associating with these able men, should occupy the eastern recess

The king himself sat so that all four parties might derive the greatest benefit from his presence. He gave orders that a selection should be made from the most eminent of these four bodies to occupy the places nearest to his person, and to them he distributed with his own hand handfuls of Rupees and Gold-mohurs. Those who were not fortunate enough to receive donations from his own hand, were honored on the next morning, as they sat in groups on the outside, with befitting presents in money. This distribution used to last till mid-day on Friday.

If the king, on account of ill-health or anxiety, was unable to superintend this himself, he used to appoint some substitute, in whom he had particular confidence, to make the usual distribution. May God bless these pious and liberal actions, which no king has ever yet performed, and may they redound to the eternal honor and prosperity of his exalted majesty.

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### *The 38th Ilahí year after the accession*

On the 15th Jamádu-s-sání, 1001 H. after the sun had entered Aries, the Nauroz festival of the 38th year of the reign commenced, and the usual ceremonies were observed upon the occasion, on the 9th of the Ilahí month Farwardín 1001 H. corresponding with the 24th of Jamádu-s-sání, Khán Khánán and Jání Beg, Ruler of Thatta, arrived at Court, kissed the threshold, and were received with every demonstration of honor and kindness. Sháh Beg Cábulí, who was called Khán Daurán, Feridún Khán Birlás, Bakhtyár Beg, and other nobles who stood appointed to the army of Gujrát, and had accompanied the king, severally received an increase of allowances, Jágírs, and Mansabs.

About this time, the fort of Júnágarh and the country of Súrat fell under the king's dominion. Sultán Muzaffar Gujrátí fled to Kankár, the chief of Cach, and obtained his protection. Khán A'zam invaded Kankár's dominions, and pillaged them, till at last Kankár was persuaded to seize Muzaffar Khán and send him a prisoner to Court. It was therefore agreed that Mirzá Abdulla, son of Khán A'zam, should go secretly with a small body of men to the place where Muzaffar was concealed, and seize him unawares.

When they were proceeding on this expedition, Muzaffar retired on a certain pretence, and, while absent, cut his throat with a razor, which he had about his person. His head was then cut off, and brought to Khán A'zam, who sent it to Court.

At this time, 120 elephants, which had come into the possession of Mán Sing, were sent by him to Court, and presented to his majesty. As ten years had elapsed since Khán A'zam had been to Court, a Firmán was despatched to summon him to the presence, directing that, as he had performed good service to the state, it was time he should come and receive his reward, but as that chief had always entertained the wish to proceed on a pilgrimage to the sacred cities, and his friends represented to him that the king was displeased with him, and merely sought an opportunity to imprison him, he placed his family and treasure on board a vessel, and on the 1st of Rajab set sail for Hejáz. When the king learnt this, he nominated Sháhzáda Murád to the government of Gujrát, and directed him to proceed thither from Málwa, and Muhammed Sádik Khán, one of the grandees of the state, was sent as deputy to the prince,—the Sircárs of Barúch, Súrat and Barauda being taken from Kilij Khán, and given to Muhammed Sádik Khán in Jágir.

On the 21st of Murrád, corresponding with the 14th of Zí-l-K'da 1001 H. Zein Khán Koká, and Asaf Khán, who had been sent to chastise the Afgháns of Swát and Bajaur, and to exterminate Jalálá and his brother Mandúd Alí, succeeded in accomplishing the latter object, and brought away these two chiefs prisoners, besides their families, and sent them to the king.

On the 4th of Shehriyúr, corresponding with the 29th of Zí-l-k'da, the governorship of Málwa was conferred upon Mírzá Sháh Rukh, and orders were given to release Sháhbáz Khán Kambóh, who had been imprisoned for the last three years, and he was sent to Málwa, to act as deputy to Mírzá Sháh Rukh.

On the 2nd of Muharram 1002 H. Mírzá Rustam Khán,—son of Sultán Husain Mírzá, son of Bahrám Mírzá, son of Sháh Ism'aíl Safví, king of Irán,—who was ruler of Zemíndáwar and the neighbouring districts, came to Court and paid his respects, accompanied by his family and relations. When he had arrived at the bank of the Chenáb, his majesty sent out Kará Beg Turkmán with tents and carpets and furniture to meet him, and after him followed Hakím Einnu-l-mulk with a waist-dagger studded with jewels. When the Mírzá had arrived within four coss of Lahore, Zein Khán and Khán Khánán were sent out to meet him, and when the interview with the king took place, the refugee prince was received with every kind of kingly hospitality, was presented with a crore of Tankas, and admitted to the dignity of 5000. Multán was also conferred upon him in Jágir.

About this time, the poet laureate, Sheikh Faizí, who had been despatched on an embassy to Rájá Alí Khán and Burhán-u-l-mulk Deccání, returned, and was received with great kindness. Mír Muhammed Amín of Mashhed, Mír Munír, and Khwájah Amín-u-d-dín, who had all been deputed on similar special duty to the Deccan, returned to Court, and paid their respects. As Burhán-u-

I-mulk had been elevated entirely through the kindness and protection of the king, and had received the greatest favors from him, as has already been shewn in its proper place, the king was annoyed at his sending an inferior present, consisting only of 15 pieces of coloured Deccan cloth and a few jewels, and as he had in other respects behaved in a disrespectful manner, the king was greatly grieved at his conduct. Accordingly, the vicegerent of God (the king) determined on an expedition to the Deccan, and on the 25th of Mihar, he appointed Prince Dáníál to subdue that country, and Khan Khánán, Rái Smg, Rái Sal, Hakím Einu-l-mulk, the nobles of Málwa, and the Jagirdárs of the Súba of Ajmír and Delhi, were sent to co-operate with the Prince, and 70,000 horse were ordered on the same duty.

The king came out for the purpose of hunting and pitched his camp at Sultampur, on the bank of the river, thirty coss from Lahore, and Khan Khánán who had gone to Sírhind to pay his respects to Prince Dáníál, was sent for by the king to be consulted on the subject of the expedition. He had an interview with his majesty near Sheikhpur, and had frequent conferences on the subject of the Deccan, in one of which the king enquired whether that province could not be conquered without troubling the Prince to go there. Khán Khánán promised to undertake it in his own person, and instructions were therefore issued, that the army, which had been directed to accompany the Prince, should place themselves under the orders of Khán Khánán, and the Prince was summoned to Court, which he reached in two days. Khán Khánán, loaded with honors by the king, set out on his expedition, and his majesty, having broken up his hunting camp, and given his people leave to visit their homes, returned to Lahore. Khán Khánán set out with all haste, and arrived at Agra, and as the rainy season was approaching, and he had received orders to disburse pay from the Agra Treasury, and to lay in from the same source all the ammunition and military stores necessary for the conquest of the Deccan, he remained at Agra during the rains, and having supplied himself with every necessary he set out for Málwa, which was the Jagír of Mírzá Sháh Rukh, with whom he had an interview in Ujain. From Málwa he went to Khándes, and without proceeding to extremities, induced Rájá Alí Khán to declare his allegiance to the king. Khándes thus became included in the subject states, and the coin was struck, and the Khutba, read in the name of his majesty. Even Asír, which had baffled every attempt, fell at last under his sway. Khándes was given in Jagír to Rájá Alí Khán, and he was enrolled among the mansabdárs of 5000. Khán Khánán sent a request, accompanied by a suitable offering, to his majesty, that these orders might be confirmed, and that Rájá Alí Khán might be reckoned among the nobles, and be allowed to accompany



him to the Deccan. The king acceded to these proposals, and Khán Khánán was rewarded with fresh marks of his favor.

After the affair of Khándes was completed to his satisfaction, Khán Khánán set out on his expedition to the Deccan. His first step was to lay siege to Ahmednagar, and Chánd Bibí, who was at that time ruler of that province, entered into negotiations, under which it was stipulated that the territory of Berár should be resigned to Akber.

On the second occasion, when he attacked Ahmednagar, Soheil, the Abyssinian, was appointed by Ádil Sháh to the command of the army, and the armies of Nízám-ü-mulk, Ádil Khán, Kutbu-ü-mulk and the Berídsháhí chief being placed under his command, he came out in considerable strength and confidence to oppose Khán Khánán, who with the little force at his command, performed such prodigies of bravery, as might have shamed even Rustam and Isfandíár. He obtained a complete victory over Soheil, and then proceeded to the siege of Ahmednagar, which he soon reduced and brought the whole province of the Deccan under the rule of the emperor. As the conquests of the Deccan, Khándes, and Berár have already been fully detailed in the life of Khán Khánán in this book, I beg to refer to it for further information. If I were here to commence an account of this commander's proceedings in the Deccan, it would extend to too great a length.

To be brief, the king reigned for 52 years over the whole of Hindústán, from Bengal to the extreme borders of Candahár, and Zemíndáwar, and even to the shores of the sea. All the stubborn chiefs, Rájás, Ráís, and Zemíndárs in Hindústán, including those of Gujrat, Sind, Deccan, Cashmír, Bengal, Málwa and other countries, were made, by means of the Khán Khánán, subject to his rule. Some, after defeat in action, some, under treaties of peace, were all in the end deprived of the exercise of independent sovereignty.

The author has extracted this account of the first 38 years of the reign, viz from A. H. 963 to 1002, from the *Tabakát-i-Akberí*, by Nízám-ü-d-dín Ahmed Bakhshí. Of the remaining fourteen years the author has never seen any account, at least, as he has not been able to procure any, he has omitted that period from his history, and must, therefore, refer to other authorities who may have written concerning this period.

Akber was a world-subduing monarch, the very emblem of justice, to whose Court people from all sides resorted for protection, and to partake of a benevolence so universally diffused. He extended toleration to all religions and creeds, and would recognize no difference between their professors, his object being to unite all in a common bond of peace. The names of the Sultáns, nobles, ministers, poets, and philosophers who adorned his reign, can be ascertained from the *Tabakát-i-Akberí* and the *Akbernama*, and

in the same comprehensive works will be found an account of his greatness, his inventions, his novel rules of administration,—all exhibiting a fertile and ready genius.

During his entire reign of 52 years, no neighbouring Prince of Hindústan made an incursion into his territories, and notwithstanding that the Afghán kings are notorious for their malignity and turbulence, they were not able to move their feet during his supremacy, so that all quarters were subject to his sword, the very signal of victory. Whoever dared to lift his head from the level of loyalty and subjection never escaped with his life.

Akber died at Agra on the 23rd Jamadul-awwal A. H. 1014, and the date of his death was found to be represented by the letters composing “the death of Akber Shahi”

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This work is not common in India. There is one copy at Lahore, in two volumes, which is an abridgement, rather than the entire work. The copy which the Asiatic Society possesses constitutes one of the most valuable manuscripts of its collection. It was transcribed in a legible *nasta'lik* hand under the author's own superintendence, and contains revisions and marginal additions in his own handwriting. It purports to have been sent as a present to his friend, Khwájah Sultán Muhammed Isfahání, in the year 1026 H., and afterwards to have been received from him again, and presented in 1041 H. to Kází 'Abdu-l-azíz. The author states that this MS. has not undergone the careful revision he could wish, and that a complete history of the kings of the Deccan is wanting, which he hopes to supply some future day.

The size and contents of the volume are shown above

Initial lines:—

حمد و ثنا نه در خور این حوصلهاست و ستایش و سپاس چه  
 حد هر مدرك و عاحب ذكاست حمد را نهی باید خالی اروسواس  
 و ستایش را ربانی حقیقت اساس عالم توحید عالمیست ربانی  
 عرصه تحمید مقامیست رحمانی کاروان داناان درین راه  
 نبی ربانی و شغل داناان درین عالم نادانی \*

Final lines, added in the author's hand-writing:  
 ing:—

چون راقم در بعضی محل بردیگی و قرب را منظور داشته  
 و در برخی مقدمات مدار برحالت و استعداد انجماعت نهاده  
 و در باب جمعی نیز اصطلاحاً منظور داشته است اگر در بطرها  
 قسمی دیگر جلوه نماید دوز نیست و کلیه آنست که بی تکلفی را  
 منظور داشته بطریقی که روداده ثبت شده و ترتیب را مقتضی  
 شده و عقیده ببوده امیدوار بدرگاه و اهب العطایا چنان است  
 که نام نامی و دولت دقی این سپه ساز نامدار و وردان کامگار  
 و این گرامی نسخه تا قیام قیامت پاینده و مصدوم باد  
 بحق النون و الصاد \*

# XXXI

## انفع الاخبار

ANFAU-L-AKHBAR.

This work is of much the same historic character as the last. It is in a more abridged form, but is devoted to the eulogies of a patron, and their publication appears to have been one of the chief objects contemplated in the undertaking.

The author, Muhammed Amín, son of Daulat Muhammed-al-Husaini-al-Balikí, was in the service of Nawwáb Sipahdár Khán, who receives an enlarged and laudatory notice at the close of the work. He concluded it in A. H. 1036, and styled it *Anfáu-l-Akhbar*, "The most useful chronicle," because the year is represented by the letters composing those words. He resided chiefly at Ahmednagar, on which account he often notices this city, and its buildings, gardens, and history receive a large share of notice.

This history is divided into a Preface, ten Books and a Conclusion.

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 X —The dynasty of Timúr.

*The following are the rubrics of the tenth Book*

Accession of Khákán Sa'id Sháhrukh, Sultán, to the throne of Khorásán —Mírzá 'Aláu-d-dau-lah ascends the throne, and the death of Mírzá 'Abdu-l-latíf in the year 857, H —Mírzá Mughísu-d-dín Alagh Beg Gúrgán crosses the river —March of Mírzá Abu-l-Kásim Báber to Khorásán —Disagreement between Mírzá 'Aláu-d-daulah and Mírzá 'Abdu-l-latíf —Enmity between Mírzá Alagh Beg and Mírzá 'Abdu-l-latíf, and the death of the king —A brief account of Mírzá Sultán Muhammed —March of Mírzá Bálla —Mírzá 'Abdu-l-latíf killed, and the accession of Mírzá 'Abdu-l-lah to the throne of Samarkand —Mírzá 'Abdu-l-lah Shirázi killed—and Sultán Sa'id ascends the throne —March of Mírzá Báber towards Balkh —Mírzá 'Aláu-d-daulah seized —Mírzá Sultán Muhammed —Mírzá Báber proceeds towards Asterábád —Mírzá Báber departs for Mashhed —Mírzá Sháh Mahmúd, and certain events of his time —Arrival of Sultán Sa'id at Khorásán —March of Mírzá Ibráhím to Mázerderán, and his defeat by Mírzá Jehán Sháh Turkomán —Visit of Mírzá Jehán Sháh to the capital of Khákán Sa'id, and his peace with him —Fight of Sultán Sa'id with Mírzás Ibráhím, 'Aláu-d-dau-lah and Sanjar —Arrival of Amír Khalíl to besiege Herát —March of Sultán Sa'id towards Turkistán —A brief account of Mírzá Jehán Sháh Turkomán —March of Sultán Sa'id from Asterábád —The Khorásání troops defeated, and Sultán Sa'id Gúrgán killed —Accession of Sultán Husam Bahádar Khán to the throne —Several events related in a concise manner —March of Mírzá Yádgár Muhammed with the design of conquest, and his defeat by the royal army —The king marches against Mírzá Yádgár Muhammed —Accession of Mírzá Yádgár Muhammed to the throne of Khorásán —The king proceeds in the direction of the garden Zaghán, and Mírzá Yádgár killed —Re-accession of the king to the throne of Khorásán —The events which occurred after his accession to the throne of Khorásán —Death of Mírzá Sultán Husam, and the joint succession of Badí'u-z-zamán Mírzá and Mírzá Muzaffar Husam to the throne of Khorásán, and several other events —A summary account of the tribe of Ak-Kúnlú who ruled in Azarbáiján, Fars, the two Iráks, and Kirmán —A brief account of the Uzbek kings who ruled in

Máwaru-n-nahr and Khorásán subsequent to 900 A H — Saffí kings — Conquests of Irák, Persia, and Kirmán — Fall of Baghdád, and flight of Sultán Murád — Conquest of Khúzistán — The territories of Khorásán conquered, and Shahí Beg Khán killed — A brief account of Amír Yár Muhammed Isfaháuí — Arrival of Sultán Selím, king of Rum, in Irán — Death of the king — Accession of Sháh Tahmás, son of Sháh Isma'íl — Zahiru-d-dín Muhammed Baber — Accession of Humayún — Capture of the fort of Champínir — Sultán Bahádar — The events which befel the king after his arrival at Agra — Retreat of the king towards Iran, and several events which occurred at that time — Return of the king from Iran towards Hindústan — March of the king from Cabul in the direction of India, with the design of conquest — Death of the king in Rabi-ul-awwal 963 A H — Account of certain excellent men — Biography of Muhammed Akber, from the beginning of the first up to the fifty-first year of his reign — An account of Jehángír — Account of the king and certain events which occurred at that time — Sultán Khusrú fights, is defeated, and seized — Return of Sultán Parvez from the Deccan and arrival of Sultan Khurram according to the summons of the king — Rupture of engagements, and recurrence of the insurrection of Malik Amber in the Deccan — Disaffection of Sultan Khurram — An account of Sultán Khurram after his arrival in Bengal — Settlement of the affairs of the Deccan and march of the army to Bengal — Misfortunes which occurred after the departure of prince Sultán Parvez — Fight of Sultán Parvez and Mahábat Khan with Sultán Khurram — Submission of Malik Amber — Certain transactions related in a succinct manner — pp 218—446

Conclusion — Account of Sipahidur Khán — The peace of God rest on him and may his life be prolonged! pp 446—482

SIZR — Small Quarto, containing 482 pages, and 17 lines in each page

#### EXTRACTS

The forty-ninth, fiftieth, and fifty-first years of the reign of Akber, were marked by the following events, viz

In the year 1012 A H prince Sultán Selím was imprisoned in a bath, on the very day on which His Royal Highness, repenting of his actions, presented himself to the king, availing himself of the opportunity which the death of his grandmother, Mariam Macáuí affording him of offering his condolences to his majesty — He was however after a space of twelve days released — This year is also marked by the arrival from the Deccan of the news of the death of Sultán Dáwúd — In the year 1013 A H the king (Akber) was taken ill — On Friday the 12th of Jamádius-s-sání 1014 A H he died at Agra, and was interred in Sikandra — "It is God alone who will exist for ever"

This king never sustained a defeat at any place. His army was

victorious in every engagement. He subjugated all nations, some by means of arms and some by friendly treaties of peace. The blessings of good government were extended to every quarter of this extensive empire. All people of every description and station came to his court, and all their enmities having been reconciled by his mediation, they were secure from anxiety. Be it not concealed that this account of his happy reign does not form even one-tenth part of the transactions which actually occurred in it or contain the praises due to it — The detailed particulars of his reign are recorded in the Akbarnáma and the Táríkh-i-Nízámí — God be praised that the distress which the people experienced at the loss of their sovereign Akber, was removed by the accession of his excellent and powerful son, Jehángír. May this exalted Dynasty maintain its power till the day of judgment, under the auspices of the prophet and his glorious descendants!

\* \* \* \* \*

A brief account follows of the events which occurred in the year 1036 H viz —

On the return of Mahábat Khán from the Deccan, by command of the king, His Majesty commenced his march on Cášmír. On the way a dispute arose between Mahábat Khán and Asaf Khán, son of I'tímádu-d-dauláh, and brother of Núr Jehán Begam. It took so serious a turn, that they at last came to action, drawing up their troops in battle array. Mahábat Khán gained the victory, and Asaf Khán fled to the fort of Attak Benares, where he fortified himself. The victorious party besieged him, and after a few days succeeded in obtaining possession of his person, when they took him to their master, who threw him into prison. These circumstances gained Mahábat Khán such influence at Court, that no one without his authority could go near the king, and even his food and drink was subject to inspection. Mahábat Khán also appointed his own obedient Rájpúts to remain in constant attendance day and night on the king, thereby cutting off every one from direct communication with His Majesty. The matter stood upon this footing for about six months, when a party of Moghuls being collected through the exertions and dexterity of the wise Núr Jahán Begam, marched against Mahábat Khán, put nearly three thousand of his Rájpúts to death, and effected the release of Asaf Khán. Mahábat Khán being thus defeated, took to flight. Khán Khánán was sent by the king to pursue and exterminate him, but while engaged on the expedition, Khán Khánán died, and Mahábat Khán has in consequence been suffered still (i. e. the close of the year 1036 H) to wander about with a small body of adherents.

Sultán Khurram remains in the Deccan under the same circumstances as have been already mentioned. We must wait to see what may happen to him hereafter, and what game the hero (his chessman) will play behind the curtain of futurity.

This year is also marked by the death of Prince Parvez in the city of Burhānpur. The date of the death of that excellent Prince is found in the following chronogram, composed by Maulana Samadī Būanāfī, viz "The king of kings has departed from this world"

In this year Nizamu-l-mulk created a disturbance in the Deccan, which however was put down by the exertions of Khān Jehān. A detail of this transaction will be found in the concluding part of this work.

At the present time, i. e. the latter part of the year 1036 II the people of this country, whether rich or poor, high or low, are in the enjoyment of all the blessings of comfort and content, and slumbering secure from all danger, are in return offering up their prayers to the Almighty God for the continued prosperity of the king, who is the safeguard of the empire and the shadow of God.

### *The Conclusion*

The concluding part of this book contains an account of Sipahdar Khan, may the peace of God be on him! The object of giving an account of him in this work is that his memory may descend to posterity. Be it not concealed that his birth place is Tabrez, and his ancestors were reckoned among the nobles of that country. His name is Mīrza Muhammed Saleh. In the year 1000 II he left Iran for Hindūstān, in company with the late Khwajah Beg Mīrzā, son of Ma'sum Beg Safī, whose excellent qualities cannot be adequately described. The relations of friendship and amity which subsisted between them were exceedingly strong.

Mīrzā Muhammed Saleh, after his arrival in India obtained the honor of an interview with His Majesty. Mansabs suitable to his dignity, as well as the government of the Sūbāh of Gujrāt, were conferred on him, time after time. While in Gujrāt, he saw in a dream a white flag so lofty that it penetrated the very heavens, at one time it went towards his right hand, at another towards the left, and then, shortly after, it left that position, and came and stood opposite to him, and then, on approaching him, began to bend down towards him, when he seized hold of it with his hand and again placed it in an erect posture, upon which, he woke from his dream. Since the time that he had this auspicious dream, he began to prosper day by day, so that he attained at length the dignity of the Governor of Gujrāt, but the height of the flag presages to him, according to the interpretation of the dream, even a higher dignity than that which he has yet attained. He was constantly in the habit of relating this dream to intelligent persons. "There is a dignity yet greater than thine and thy dignity at every period is not always the same. Wait till the dawn of fortune cometh to thee, as these are the mere harbingers of that dawn. The dignity which thou hast attained is very low,



when compared with that which Fate yet ordains for thee in its full accomplishment ”

In the year 1003 II Prince Sultán Murád marched towards the Deccan by order of the king, where Khwájah Beg Mírzá and Mírzá Muhammed Sáleh paid their respects to him. Upon the death of Prince Sultán Murád in the Deccan, Prince Dáníál, as has already been mentioned in its proper place, went to that province and captured the fort of Ahmédnagar, which was the Capital of Nizámu-l-mulk. The government of that country was conferred upon Khwájah Beg Mírzá and Mírzá Muhammed Sáleh. These two great men have resided in this country for a long period, during which they have conferred many kindnesses, obligations and comforts upon the people, as will shortly appear in the sequel

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This work is probably unique. I know of only one copy, and that is an autograph of the author, transcribed in Muharram 1037, only a few months after the composition of the original. This MS. belongs to Nawwáb Shamsí Kadr of Lakhnau.

The Anfa'u-l-Akhabár commences thus :—

انفع ورنده كلمات راویان اخبار انبیاء عالیمقدار و نقاوه مدساء  
واعان آثار سلاطین دوی الافندار حمد خالقى است كه ار حرايه  
اعطى كل شى حلقه هريك اراحاد كائيدات را بحلعت خلقى  
موصوف ساحت و ار كرامتى بنواخت \*

and concludes with a benediction on the author's patron :—

جمعى كثیر ارسادات رفیع درجات و علمای عظام و مسائلم كرام  
و اهل فصل و استعداد همیشه در ظل مراحم و اسعاق آن یگانه افاق  
باسودگى رست میبماید ارا نعمات و خیرات ایشان طوایف  
آنام من الحواص و العوام مخلوط و بهره و راند امید كه سایه مرحمت  
مستدام بالنبی و اله العظام و السلام \*

~~~~~

دماذ که مولد شریف آن عالی حجاب خطه پاک تدبیر است و آن  
 واحد آن عالی حجاب رسالت اکبر و اشرف انبیا است مدظم بوده اند  
 و اسم سامی آن والا حجاب میرزا صالح است در شهر رسیده ۱۰۰۰  
 برفاقت حجت مکایی حواحه بیگ میرزا س معصوم بیگ  
 صفوی که محتاج بتعریف نیست و زبان بیان او وصف آنعالیه  
 فاضل است از ایران عارم هندوستان شده اند و بی نهایت  
 اتحاد و یگانگی و پدر مریدی بمرته استقام داشت که  
 مریدی بران متصور نداد بعد از آن که بهندوستان آمدند و  
 بمقامت بدکان حضرت عرش استانی معمر و مکرم گشتند  
 بمناصب مناسب سرفراری یافته نامرد صوبه گجرات شدند  
 و در گجرات میرزا محمد صالح در واقعه مشاعده نمودند که علم  
 سعیدی در پیش ایشان منصوب است و آن علم نهایت ارتعاع  
 و سطری بهمرسائیده باسمان عروج نمود و حیلی بالارفت  
 و یکبار بکاس یمین و باری دیگر بطرف یسارفت و باری دیگر  
 روی بروی ایسان قدری راه رفت و بارگشته نزدیک ایسان آمده  
 شروع در رحم شدن کرد در آن حین ایسان آن علم را بدست گرفته  
 راست کردند و از حواص در آمدند از آن تاریخ که این خواب  
 مبارک را دیدند دولت و اقبال دو اسپه متوجه ایسان است  
 و روز بروز علامات و آثار آن بظهور آمده و می آید تا باین درجه  
 عالی رسیده از بسبب ارتعاع آن علم و تعدیل آن حواص منتظر  
 و امیدوار دیگر مراتب ارحمند ناید بود و همیشه زبان حال مضمون  
 این مقال را بگوش ارباب هوش میرساند \*

دولت اردو بیت ربیع تراست	هر مابیت دولتی دیگر است
باش تا صدم صدم دولت تو	کین اثرها هنوز از سحر است
این مراتب که دیده حروست	کار کلی هنوز در قدر است

درفت و مددگان حصرت گردون ممرت حل خاندان را داسکر  
 فراوان تعین نمودند که تعقیب مہماتش نموده او را داسد سزید  
 و بعد از رزادہ شدن در اندکی راه خن خاندان و دیعت حدت  
 سپردن تا حال کہ او آخر سدہ مذکور است مہمات حل  
 با معدودی چند سرگردان است و سلطان حرم هم تا حال  
 بہمائل عنوان کہ ذکر یافتہ در حدود و بیست دکن شست تا بعد  
 ازین چہ روزی دندہ واریس پردہ غیب چہ اری رج ندید و درین  
 سال عارے ہدات ملکی عدات شدہ شادن شاہزادہ بیروتر عارض  
 شدہ در بلدہ بر خپور ریاض حاکم بریں خرامیدہ مولانا صمدی  
 ہوادانی تاریخ فوت این شاہزادہ شیتدر را شدہ شادن بسدہ ار  
 جہاں یافتہ و در رشتہ بطم کسیدہ \*

#### قطعه

شہنشاہ بیروتر خسرو منس شدہ کج کلشان بسدہ ار جہاں  
 بلند احتری مہروش کوکی رانجم سپادان بسدہ ار جہاں  
 مہ تاجداران دعائم نمادہ بہ ساح حواشیں بسدہ ار جہاں  
 بی سال فوتش چگونہ میسر نگوشدہ شادن بسدہ ار جہاں  
 درین سال بطام الملک در و بیست دکن شورش بہم رسانیدہ  
 و آخر بمعی خاشہاں اطعمی دایر اوستہ چنانچہ شرح آن از  
 خاتمہ کتب معلوم خواہد شد الحال کہ او آخر سدہ ۱۰۳۴ است  
 خایق این دیار اعلی و فقیر و کبیر و صغیر معرفہ الحال و فارغ  
 الدال ہم آغوش امن و اہل ارتدادہ حوادث ایمن غنودہ دینی  
 دولت اند مقرون ہندگن حصرت خلافت یزدادہ ظل اللہ قیام دارند  
 امید کہ این ساطت امدی علی اتصال محکمہ ہاد \*

حتمہ در بدن احوال خیر مال سیدہ مکرمت و احسان سپہ  
 دار حال سلمہ اللہ تعالی و انتادہ کہ غرض این تمہید ہمین ہون کہ ذکر  
 حیر نام بیلک آن خلاصہ ارا بر صغیر زور کارین کار نمادہ پوشیدہ

تفصل احوال خیر مال آنحضرت حواله ناگزیر نامه و تاریخ نظامی است لله الحمد والمدة که اگر خلائیق ار سایه مرحمت آنحضرت محروم گشتند حلف سلف ارشد ارحمد کامکار عالیقدر ایسان جاسین است امید که این سلطنت بازوخت تا قیام فیامت نامی و بایده ناد نالدنی واله الامجاد \*

ایضاً مده

دگر بعضی سوانح و احوال بطریقی احوال \* در شهر رسیده ۱۰۳۶ این واقع روی داد که رزم رده کلک بیان میگردد چون مهابتجان حسب الحکم بادشاه زمان ار دکی معاونت کرده بدرگاه معلی رسید دران اوان رایای عالیای عارم سیر کسمیر بودند در اثنای راه مناده مهابتجان و آصفجان بن اعتماد الدوله که برادر مهد علیا نور جهان بیگم است برانج بهمرسیده مقدمه ناسا کسید که ار طرفین افواج آراسته باهم جنگ کردند و فتح ار حاد مهابتجان شده آصفجان بودی فرار شتافت و در قلعه آنگ بنارس متحصص گردید و مردم مهابتجان او را محاصره کرده بعد ار چند روز دستگیر کرده برد مهابتجان بودند و مهابتجان او را مقید ساخت و بعد اربین مقدمه مهابتجان در دربار رایت استقلال بر امراحت و ندوعی برین دولت حانه استیلا یافت که هیچ کس را و در این بود که بی حکم و رضای او بخدمت مکل حصر تواند رفت بلکه اطعمه واسر به بی رضای او بحصر نمیرسد و طایعه را حبوتیه که نوکر و مطیع مهابتجان بودند روز و شب در دور بدگان حصر بودند و هیچ احدی یا رای گف و سید نداسن چون فریب شش ماه باین عنوان گدست بحسن تدبیر عافله دوران مهد علیا نور جهان بیگم جماعه معولان باهم متفق گشته بر سر مهابتجان رفته تا فریب سه هزار کس ار را حپوتان او بقتل آورده آصفجان را اربند خلاص کردند و مهابتجان انهرام یافته راه فرار پیدس

## منتخب از کتاب انفع الاخبار

سال چهل و بهم و پنجاه و یکم موافق سده ۱۰۱۲ و  
 سده ۱۰۱۳ و سده ۱۰۱۴ این وقایع روی داد که رقم شده  
 میشود در سده ۱۰۱۲ شاهرده سلطان سلیم اراعمال نادم و پشیمان  
 گشته عراپرسی مریم مکنی را وسیله ساخته، از روی احتیاج تمام  
 عارم خدمت پدر عالی مقام خود شد و همانروز که عذرمت بوقوع  
 آمد در علسجانه مقید گشت و بعد اردوآورد و روز انواع شغقت  
 و مهربانی بست شاهرده عالیقدر مبدول داشته بمدرل مرخص  
 فرمودند و درین سال حشر موت سلطان دانیال اردکن رسید تاریخ  
 فوت او را سه دانیال عمر سلطان سلیم داد یافته اند و در سده ۱۰۱۳  
 مرصی بر ذات حخته صفات حضرت طلسمجایی عارض گشته  
 در تاریخ روز چهارشنبه دو اردخم شهر حمدی الثاني سده ۱۰۱۴  
 در آگره تحت و تاج خسروی را وداع نموده در سکندره  
 مدفون گشت آنکه پاینده و باقیست خدا خواهد بود  
 تاریخ وفات این پادشاه عالیجاه را موت اکبرسه یافته اند این پادشاه  
 با کمال خصال در بدمدت پادشاهی هیچ جا شکست نیافت  
 و افواج او همیشه مظفر و منصور بودند و جمیع مخالفان را بعضی را  
 بحتک و بعضی را بصلح با خود موافق ساخته بود و ملکی باین  
 طول و عرض را چنانچه شاید و باید بقید صدف آورده بود و جمیع  
حلق الله و طوایف انام را اطراف و اکناف روی بدرگاه او داشتند  
 و با طمقات حالیق صلح کل کرده مردم از جمیع ملل در سایه عنایت  
 او بودند پوشیده نموده که این قدر که از احوال آن پادشاه  
 آسمان حاله عالی مقام اقام یافته عسر عسیری هم شاید که نداند

شعار عالی مقدار و جمیع طوایف انام از اطراف و اکناف عالم  
 رو درگاه جهان بنهش آورده از احسان عام او بهره یافتند و جمیع  
 مدهای و ملل را در سایه مرحمت او حای بود و صلح کل نموده  
 خلق الله را بنظر مرحمت یکسان میدید و اسامی سلاطین  
 و امرا و ورر او شعراء و علماء که در زمان عافیت نسان آنحضرت  
 در ملازمت اقدس سر می بودند از طنقات اکبری و اکر نایم  
 ظاهر میگردد و حالات بزرگی و اختراعات طبع و فادودهن نقاد  
 آنحضرت را رجوع بان دوستی جامع می نماید و در مدت سلطنت  
 آنحضرت که پنجاه و دو سال بوده باشد از هیچ یلک از سرحد  
 سندان و بادشاهان هندوستان آزار و آسیب بممالک متروکه  
 آنحضرت نرسید و با وجود بادشاهان اعلان که در حدی و ریاضه  
 سری در روزگار مسهوراند قدرت آن نداشتند که از حای خود  
 حرکت تواند نمود تا آنکه همگی ستمشرفتم آثار آن حضرت  
 مطیع و متقاد شدند و هر که سر از اطاعت و فرمان برداری پیچید  
 بی سروبی جان شد و تا آنکه متاریم شهر حمادی الاول سده  
 اربع و عشر و الف در دار الخلافه آگره متقاصی احل بساط عمرش  
 در نوشت و مدت او پنجاه و دو سال و یکی از مستعدان تاریخ  
 این واقعه را کلمه خوب اکرشته یافته \*

چاند بی بی که در آن زمان ملکه اسلمک بود مصالحه نموده برار را داخل ممالک مسروبه نادرشاهی نمود و در دفعه ثانی که سهیل حدسی از جانب عادل شاه سر لشکر شده با عساکر نظام الملکی و عادل خانی و قطب الملکی و ملک بریدی بسوکت و عظمت شریچه تمامتر بجنگ آمد و این سینه سائر نالندک مایه مردمی در برابر در آمده در آن مصاف کار رستم و اسعد نیز نموده سهیل را شکست و قلعه احمد نگر را بعد از شکست سهیل متاعره نموده مفتوح ساخت و کل ولایت دکن را که در سلسله نظام شاهیه بود داخل ممالک مسروبه نادرشاهی نمود و فتوحات دکن و خاندیش و برار چون بتفصیل در احوال خیر مال مذکور خاند مذکور شده دست ارباب بار میدارد و رجوع ناچاری نماید و اگر در ذکر فتوحات دکن سینه سائر شروع نماید طول تمام خواهد داشت انقصه خلیفه الهی را مدت پنجاه و دو سال سلطنت کل ولایت هندوستان را اقصی بدن دنگاه تا انتهای سده و قندهار و رمیداور و دریای شور گردن کسان و راجهای و رایان و رمین داران هندوستان را که سلاطین گجرات و سده و دکن و کشمیر و بنگاله و مالوه و دیگر ولایات بوده ناسد مطیع امر و فرمان خود نموده بعضی را تصاح و برخی را جنگ و جدال از ملک بر آورد و راقم مدت سی و هشت سال ایام سلطنت ایشانرا که نظام اندیش احمد حدسی مؤلف طبقات اکبری بقید تفسیر و تقریر در آورده بود از سده ثلث و ستین و تسعمائة شمسی لغایت سده اتنی و الف موافق آن رقم در آورد و مدت چهارده سال را که مسار الیه را توفیق تحریر آن نموده بود نسبه بنظر نرسید و واقعه سرکار آنحضرت را بیدر دست در آوردن این فقیر را میسر نبود توفیق تفسیر آن ایام بتفصیل بیامت و رجوع بدیگر نسخ که در حالات و وقایع سرکار ایشان درشته اند نمود نادرشاهی بود جهاندار و جهان ستان و خسروی بود عدالت

شاهزاده دانیال سرآمد رسیده بود بحیث کنگاش بحضور طلبیده و حان حانان در نواحی شیخ پور بمقامت رسیده و محمد ا در باب تسخیر دکن سخن گدشت که بی آنکه شاهزاده تصدیق کند فتح دکن میسر است حان حانان تعهد فتح دکن نمود حکم شد که لشکری که بهمراهی شاهزاده دانیال مقرر شده بود با حان حانان همراه باشد و شاهزاده دانیال بمقامت آمد کس بطلب شاهزاده رفت شاهزاده در دو روز آمده سعادت خدمت رسید و حان حانان بابوای مراحم بادشاهانه سرورار گشته متوجه فتح دکن شد و حضرت حلیفه الهی شکار کنان مراحم نموده دارالسلامه لاهور را مستقر ریاست حاه و حال ساختند و حان حانان در رفتن مسارعت نموده دارالسلامه اگره رفت و چون ایام برسات نزدیک شده بود و بیز حکم بود که از حرابین اگره آنچه تواند برداشت برداشته سپاهیان داده فتح دکن نماید در آن سال در اگره برشکال را گردانیده بقدر احتیاج از حرابین آنچه برداشته بمالوه که بحاگیر میرا ساه رج مقرر بود آمده در احنین بملاقات میرا رسید و از مالوه حاندیس در آمده مراحم علی حان را بصلح در سلک دولت حواهان در آورده حاندیس را صمیمه ممالک محروسه ساخت و سکه و خطه انملک که دست تسخیر مملکت کسایان از تسخیر قلعه اسیر عاخر بوده بنام نامی حلیفه الهی کرد و راحم علی حان را در سلک امرای پنجهزاری آورده حاندیس را بحاگیر راحم علی حان تصویر نمود و عرایض بناید کش راحم علی حان بدرگاه فرستاده التماس نمود که حاندیس بحاگیر راحم علی حان باشد و راحم علی حان در سلک دولت حواهان گردد و در معامله دکن بهمراهی نماید فرمان عنایت سان درین باب صادر گشت و حال حانان بعنایت پادشاهانه سرورار و امیدوار شد و بعد از تسخیر حاندیس متوجه دکن شده در اول دفعه قلعه احمد نگر را محاصره نموده



یباده آورده با برادران و فرزندان و عیال ملازمت رسید و چون بکنار  
 آب چناب رسید بندگان حصرت اول سرا برده و بارگاه و قالین ها  
 و دیگر اسباب بدست فرایگ ترکمان باستقلال فرستادند و اربی  
 آن کمر خنجر مرصع مصحوف حکیم عین الملک روانه داشتند  
 و چون بهار گروهی لاهور رسید رین حان و حان خانان را  
 باستقلال او فرستاده او را بشرف ملازمت مسرف ساختند  
 و چون ملازمت رسید با انواع الطاف و اعطاف ناساخانه سرور  
 شد و مبلغ یک کروڑ تکه مرادی انعام نمودند و درسک امرای  
پنجهرای درآوردند و ملتان را نکایر میرا عنایت کردند  
 و در همین ایام ملک السعراشیم فیضی که رسالت برد راحه  
 علی حان و برهان الملک دکنی رفته بود آمده مورد الطاف  
 و مراحم ناساهی شد و میر محمد امین مشهیدی و میر مدیر  
 و حواحه امین الدین که هریک یکی از حکام دکن رفته بودند  
 بپیر آمده ملازمت نمودند و چون برهان الملک پرورش یافته  
 و نوارش کرده این استاده بود چنانچه در محل خود ذکر رمت  
 پیش کش لایق فرستاده و درسک و روش احلاص بپیر کوتاهی  
 نموده بود و بناده از بناده بارچه فماش دکن و اندک حواهری  
 فرستاده بود موجب بهم برآمدگی خاطر اسرف شد و خلیفه  
 الهی همت بر تسخیر دکن گماست و شاهزاده دایال را بتاریخ  
 نست و بلحم مهر ماه الهی مواوی نست و یکم محرم این  
 سال جهت تسخیر انولایت تعیین نمودند و خان حانان و رای  
 سنگه و رای سال و حکیم عین الملک و امرای مالوه جایگردداران  
صوبه احمیر و دهلی بپیر ملازمت شاهزاده رحصت شدند  
 و بالحمه هفتاد هزار سوار باین خدمت امر شد و خود بدولت  
عربمت سکار بیرون آمده تا کنار آب دریای سلطان پور که سی  
 گروهی لاهور است رسیدند و خان حانان را که در ملازمت

آریسه بدست راحه مانسنگه افتاده بودند بدرگاه جهان پناه  
 ارسالداشته بود بنظر اسرف گذشت چون مدتی ده سال بود که  
 حان اعظم از ملازمت جدا افتاده بود فرمان بطلب او رفت  
 که چون خدمات بتقدم رسانیده وقت آنست که بشرف ملازمت  
 دریافته مورد مزاحم ساهندساهی شود اما چون همه وقت زیارت  
 حرمین الشریعتین در خاطر داشت درین ایام از حالت خلیفه الهی  
 اهل بفاق بعضی سخنان ناو رسانیده بودند و او را اراده برده با  
 مردمان و عیال و خانه کوچ و حرانه خود را درکستی انداخته  
 در عره رحب سال مذکور عزیمت سفر حصار نمود چون این خبر  
 بعرض رسید حضرت شاهنشاهی حکومت گناباد را بساغراده  
 مراد تفویض نمود فرمان فرستادند که از مالوه بگجرات رود و محمد  
 صادق حان که از امرای کنار بود بوکالت ساغراده رحمت شد  
 سرکار سورت و بروچ و بروجه از تعیر قلیچ حان بجاگیر او مقرر  
 گشت و در تاریخ سست و یکم امرداد ماه سال سی و هشت الهی  
 موافق چهاردهم دی موده احدی والف بن خان کوکه و امیر حان  
 که بحجه تادیب و تنبیه اماده سواد و باحور رفته بودند و استیصال  
 حلاله و مدد علی هم منظور شان بود اکثر انهارا نابود ساخته اهل  
 و عیال حلاله و مدد علی برادر او را ناحویس او فریب بچهار صد کس  
 دستگیر نموده بدرگاه جهان پناه آوردند و بتاریخ چهارم شهریور ماه  
 الهی سده مذکور موافق سست و نهم دی فده حکومت مالوه را  
 بمیرزا ساهرخ لطف موده شاه ناز حان کنورا که سه سال در  
 قید بود خلاص کرده بحجه سرانجام مهمات مالوه و معاملات میرزا  
 ساهرخ لطف فرمودند و بتاریخ دوازدهم شهریور ماه الهی  
 سده ۱۰۸۱ موافق هشتم محرم سده اثنی والف میرزا رستم خان  
 بن سلطان حسن میرزا بن بهرام میرزا بن شاه اسمعیل صفوی والی  
 ایران که حکومت رمبداوز و ان نوا حی داشت التکا بدرگاه جهان

## منتخب از کتاب مآثر رحیمی

سال سی و هشتم الهی ار جلوس شاهنشاهی تقاریر پادشاه  
جمادی الثانی سنه احدی و الف تحویل بمراتعظم ارحوت  
حمل شده بنیاد نو روز سلطانی و اغیر سال سی و هشتم الهی شد  
و بدستور هر ساله آئین بدی شد و جشنها ترتیب یافت بهم فرودین  
ماه الهی سنه هزار و یک موافق هشت و چهارم جمادی الثانی  
سنه مذکور خان خاندان و جانی بیگ حاکم تهنه آمده بشرف عتبه  
موسی مسرف شدند و مورد عنایات خسروانه گردیدند و شاه  
بیگ خان کلمی که الحال بحال دوران مخاطب است و فرودین حال  
برلاس و اختیار بیگ و دیگر امرا که کوهی گجرات بودند و همراه  
آمده بودند مراخور حال خود بریادی علوفه و جاگیر و منصب  
سرور شدند در اینوقت که قلعه جوناگده و ولایت سورته بتصرف  
اولیای دولت در آمد سلطان مطهر گجراتی که در آن ولایت  
می بود فرار نموده بجانب کنکار که زمین دار ولایت کچه است  
رفته در پناه او می بود خان اعظم بر سر کنکار رفته اکثر ولایت  
او را خراب ساخت و او را راه دولت خواهی در آمده در مقام  
آسده که مطهر گجراتی دستگیر و ولتخواهان شوند بذابین قرارداد  
که میرزا عبدالله پسر خان اعظم را بجای که مطهر میباشد سر کرده  
می بود که او را غافل دستگیر سازد میرزا عبدالله را ندیده سلطان  
مطهر را دستگیر نمود و در اتنای راه مطهر به بهانه اراقت بگوشه  
بسته باستره که ناحیه داشت گلوی خود را بریده ناچار سرش را  
بریده بیس حال اعظم آوردند و خان اعظم سر او را بدرگاه سلطین  
پناه فرستاد همه درین ایام یکصد و هشت رنجیر فیل که در جنگ

و حکم کرد که هر سال از روی فهر و غضب نواایت کتهر درآمده  
 و بقیه از حرانی فرو نگدارد و خود بپیر تا سده سدع و ثمانین  
 و سعمائنه هر سال از دهلی جانب سندنل شکار رفته آنچه ملک  
 داؤد خان اعلان نموده بود بموقع می آورد چنانکه در آن سنوات  
 یکحریب زمین مزروع شد و مقصدی شدی در حانه خود نمود  
 و عوض آن سه سید چندین هزار هندو قتل رسیدند و در سال مذکور  
 حصاری بعایت مستحکم در موضع سولی که هفت گروهی  
 نداون است ساخته آن را میرور پور نام کرد اما حلق ستمدیده  
 و ظریف آن را آخرین پور میگفتند و در آخر اسپهان سد که در میان  
 مردم جاری شده بود که ناسادیکرد در قلعه ساختن و شهر و قصه  
 بنا نهادن توفیق نیامد و آن حصار تا آخرین پور مسهور گشت  
 و در همین سال ضعف ییری بر ناساه غالب شده حالتها که  
 وزارت یافته بود بی نهایت فوی شد که هر چه او میگفت  
 ناساه بی فکر و تأمل از فوه بفعل می آورد \*

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مذکور درین کتبت امین خواسته علامت نمود بیادشاه و را تسمی  
 مقدم بیله دشمنی بی و عد از مدتی در مقام عزایت  
 شده باز نشسته فرستاد و در سنة ربع و سبعین و سبعه مک  
 مقبول خل جهن وقات یقت و جوداشد بصر بزرگ او بدل  
 خطاب بیله آور گشت و در سنة خمس و سبعین و سبعه مک  
 عشر خل در گجرت فوت شد بصر بزرگ او در خل خطاب  
 عشر خاتی یقت و جانبین پدر شد و در سنة عشر سنة ست  
و سبعین و سبعه مک فلک ییسوی و عده خود عده ساخته  
سلطان مک فیدرز بزرگ را سری فرید دیندش قدح خل  
که سازاد بیله بود قرین حسن و ادویه ساخته پشت طقتش را  
را باز غم دوتا گذاشت و چون تلجی نیو عبور در دست بود  
در حظیره خود دین کرده مرسم تعزیت چی آور و محبوب  
رانی ممل سایه تقدت را موز مسکنت از کرده بعایت محمود  
و معصوم میله امیر و نشین در کر سر تر میلن دیده معروض  
و تقدت که جو رضا شمار در موقعه تلجی یصلت و یس رین  
نی المتی دلمور پادشاهی مدح سی میلیم و آن پادشاه و با  
نفس مختار دو نشو را قبول کرده احول مسکنت پرواحت  
و حرای مع کشت مقا شمار رغبت سود و در حوای دشمنی  
و قرب دو سده سنگ در شارف دیور دکستید در خل سایه را  
تقدید و آن تقدیر که دیده و آن رین زمن انرا قی است \*  
یشاه

قریب یصلت و سده شمار کس گرفتار حیثه تجدیدیت شدند  
و چون کهر کو مایلند سبب در تسکف و شعاب آن کو مستدان ناپدید  
شدند چون تسکف را نشان حیا او میداد و حسنت فرد یک شد  
ایات عشر ایات تجدیدیت در آمد سرو مملی معزلات سود و مک  
دو معدل را غایت بزرگ ساخته در سبیل سبب و مرد

رسید و شربت برف حبه او آوردند چون من حاضر بودم خود میل نکرد و حکم کرد که چند میل و شتر بار بدارد که همراه بود شربت برف ساخته بیاد سلطان محمد تعلقشاه تمام لسكر تقسیم کردند راحه نگرکوت بعد از محاربه و محاصره با اذعان بخدمت آمده عاشر خدمت بدوش گرفته پادشاه او را بوارش فرمود و نگرکوت را بنام سلطان محمد تعلقشاه مرحوم به محمد آباد موسوم گردانید و در بیفونت بعرض پادشاه رسانیدند که سکندر دوالقربین وقتی که اینجا آمده بود در همدان صورت پوشان را ساخته در خانه خود داشته اند و آن حالا معدوم مردم این دیار است و بیکهزار و سیصد کتاف از دراعمه درین بنگاه است که بحوالا مکی استهار دارد پادشاه علمای آن طایفه را طلب کرده بعضی از آن کتب را ترجمه فرمود از اسماء اعرالدین حاکم حاکمی که از شعری آن عصر بود کتافی در حکمت طبعی و شگون و تغایلات در سلک نظم کشیده دلائل فیروزشاهی نام کرده است و المصنف آن کتابست متضمن اقسام حکمت علمی و عملی و در بعضی کتب مسطور است که سلطان فیروز شاه بزرگ بنگاه نگرکوت را بسکست و ناگوست ماده گاو در تودره کرده بگردن بهامه بست و درازد و بگردانید و صورت پوشان را بایک لک تنگه بندیده حصص رسول الله صلی الله علیه و آله و سلم فرستاده تا آنصورت را در مشاعر ایران ریزد زمین کردند و رز را بکارین و مستحقین و سمت نمودند و پادشاه بعد از فتح نگرکوت عریض ولایت سد کرده متوجه بهته شد و حام مالی بس حام عفره که همیشه مطیع پادشاه دهلی بود باعی شده قلعه را مصلوب کرد و پادشاه چندگاه محاصره فرموده چون عله و علف قیمت حواهر پیدا کرد و موسم برسات نزدیک سد بحاجب گجرات رفت و برشکال را در اینجا گردانید و طغر خان را آیالت گجرات داده بکوچ متواتره بهته آمد حام

کردیم و اسباب سلطنتس گرفتیم سال دیگر بدفع او حوالم آمد  
 پس صلح گونه در میان آورده و اسیران بلاد لکنوتی را رها کرده علم  
 مراجعت بصوف دهلی برافراشت و در سده حمص و حمسین  
 و سدعمائۀ نزدیک دهلی شهر فیروزاناد در کنار بهر جون بنیاد نهاد  
 و در دو آردهم ماه شعبان سده ست و حمسین و سدعمائۀ جانب  
 دیبالیور به شکار رفت و جوی بررگی ار آب ستلج کنده تا جهنم  
 که چهل و هشت کروزه است برد و در سده سدع و حمسین و سدعمائۀ  
 ار کوه مندوی و سر مور ار بهر جون جوی جدا کرده و هفت بهر  
 دیگر باو جمع ساخته بهاسی رسانید و اراجا به اسیرین برده حصار  
 مستحکم بنا کرده بحصار فیروزه موسوم گردانید و در زیر آن حصار  
 نزدیک کوشک تالائی کافیه ار آب بهر پر کرد و جوی دیگر ار آب  
 کهر کشید و ار حصار سرستی گردانید و بهر سرکشته رسانید  
 و شهری در اراجا بنا نهاد و فیروزاناد نام کرد و جوی دیگر ار جون  
 کشیده در تالاف آن سهر انداخت و در ماه دیحجه سده مذکوره  
 خلعت و منشور خلعه عناسی مصر الحاکم ناصر الله ابو القتم  
 ابو بکر بن ابی ربیع سلیمان متضمن تعویض ممالک هندوستان  
 و سفارش پادشاهان دکن آمد و هم درین ماه رسولان حاجی الیاس  
 المحاطب سمس الدین شاه ار لکنوتی و بنگاله رسیده هدایا  
 و تحف و بغایس بسیار بدرگاه آوردند و التماس صلح نمودند  
 پادشاه بیربان معدی راضی شده ایلچیان را عزت و حرمت  
 رحمت فرمود و اران تاریخ بنگاله و دکن ار تصرف سلاطین دهلی  
 بیرون رفته به پیشکش اکتفا نمودند و تاده گروهی سمانه داخل  
 سرهند گردانیده حواله ملک ضیاء الملک و شمس الدین ابو رجا  
 نمود و آنجا حصار برآورده فیروزپور نام نهاد و اراجا بطرف  
 نگرکوت توجه فرموده و قتیکه بدامن کوه رسید برف آوردند پادشاه  
 فرمود که وقتی خداوند من سلطان محمد تعلقشاه مرحوم بدینجا

در سده اربع و خمسين و هجدهم در دامن کوه کلا دور شکار کرده  
 هنگام مراجعت عمارات عاليه بر لب آب سرستي بنا فرمود و در  
 شوال همين سال حان جهان را اختيار تمام داده در شهر گدانت  
 و خود با لسكر گران عزيزت لکهنوتي نموده تا دفع شر حاجي  
 الياس که خود را سمس الدين شاه ناميده تا حد مدارس متصرف  
 شده بود نمايد وقتی که نزدیک گورکپور رسيد اوديسنگ مقدم آجا  
 خدمت آمده پيس کسهای الی بی باد و رنجير فيل گذراييده مورد  
 مراحم سلطاني شد و رای گورکپور هم حراج چند سائله گذارده  
 هر دو در ملامت سلطان روان شدند و چون حدود پندوه که محل  
 قرار حاکم بنگاله بود رسيد الياس حاجي آن را گذاشته باکداله که  
 موصعيت در عايت استحکام یک طرف آب و ديگر طرف  
 جنگل دارد رفته پناه برد پادشاه مردم پندوه را مضرت رسانيده  
 اراجا نگذشت و در هفتم ماه ربيع الاول باکداله رسیده در همان  
 روز جنگ عظيم شد و بدست و بهم شهر پرور لسكر سلطان ار سهر  
 جدا شده به کنار آب گنگ فرود آمده در نهم ربيع الاحرار ممر  
 عبودت اردو ميخواست که تغير منزل کند پس بنفس بعيس  
 سوار شده تعحص جای مناسب ميکرد حاجي الياس المخاطب  
 به سمس الدين شاه بحال اينکه سلطان بعزم معاودت سوار شده  
 است بدين نيت بقصد جنگ از حصار برآمده صف آراست و  
 حرکه المدحوي نموده بارقلعه گريخت و چهل و چهار رنجير فيل  
 و چتر و علم و اسناد ساهي و جسم او بدست سلطان آمد و پياده  
 بسيار کشته شده حماعتی کثير اسير گشتند و سلطان روز دوم در اراجا  
 مقام کرده فرمان داد که اسيران بلاد لکهنوتي را نگدارد و چون  
 برسکال رسیده بود و ناريدگي در ولايت بنگاله برع میبود که  
 در آن وصل تردد عايت متعذر ميگردد پادشاه گف چون فتح



حظیر عظیم انسان نیست مناسب آنکه پیرس اربن مهمان  
سلطنت را معطل نداری و بر تخت سلطنت جلوس نمای  
ملک فیروز باریک اظهار سفر حجاج و زیارت حرمین شریفین  
نموده خرجده عذر آورد سود نکرد آخر ناچار شده در بیست و سیوم  
ماه محرم سال مذکور بعد از آنکه پناه و چند مرحله از عمر  
شریفش طی شده بود بر تخت جهانداري جلوس فرمود \*

نظم

مخالف شکن شاه فیروز سخت بیروز فالی بر آمد به تخت  
فیروزي دولت کامگار بساط نو انگشت در روزگار  
روز اول جلوس چندین هزار نفس که درند معسدان تهته  
و محل افتاده بودند بار خرید و روز سوم از جلوس تقریب  
و تورکی سوار شده که از هر طرفی که سوار مغل و معسدان تهته  
جهت دست انداري در می آمدند دستگیر میشدند یا کشته  
می گشتند چنانچه چندین کس از سرداران محل گرفتار شده  
سرا رسیدند \*

نظم

همای چتر همایون او چونال کشاد  
اربن سپس کند چعد دعوي باری  
چنان بساحت جهان را هوای معدلتش  
که از طبیعت اصداد رفت ناساري

امیر نو روز کرکین و التون بهادر دیگر صلاح در توقف ندیده  
از روی استعمال ملک خود شتافتند و مردم تهته که بتحریک  
طبی در فتنه و فساد تقصیر نمیکردند ایشان هم حد خود دانسته  
پا از اداره بیرون ندادند و بر حلیق جلوس سلطان فیروز شاه  
مدارک آمده مدت حانی و مالی بر ایشان ثابت گشت و بعد  
از آن بکوی متواتر از سیوستان نقله بیکر آمد \*

آمد و شمع در وسط حایق گماشته متکفل مهمات شدند و بنابر  
 صلاح وقت اول التون بهادر و امرای که از پیس امیر فرعن بمدد  
 آمده بودند باندازه و مرتبه هریک را خلعت و انعام داده احارت  
 مراجعت دادند و گفتند چون وقت مناسب نیست مداد امیان  
 شما و لسكر هندوستان بنابر براج مرتفع گشته بفساد منجر شود  
 اولی آنکه قبل از کوچ کردن ما شما را اردو برآمده روانه شوید  
 التون بهادر را ایسی سسی موافق عقل افتاده در ساعت حیمه  
 و حرکات درکند و کوچ کرده بمعامله پشکروزه فرود آمد و امیر نوروز  
 کرکین داماد ترمسرنی حان محل که در عهد سلطان محمد  
 تعلق شاه بهند آمده در سلک امرای کنار انتظام یافته بود کفران  
 نعمت ورزیده و پیریا مردم خود کوچ کرد و پیس التون بهادر  
 رفته فرود آمد و گفت پادشاه هندوستان فوت شده و لسكر  
 بی سرو سامان است و هندو کسی در تحت بندسته و مردم دلپای  
 بریسان دارند پس راه سپاهگری آن است که فردا که لسكر کوچ  
 کند خود را بحرانه ریم و از بقود و حواجر آنچه توایم بدست  
 آورده بولایت خود شتایم پس بموجب قرار داد روز دوم از فوت  
 پادشاه که لسكر مانند کار و ادیان بیسرو سامان میرفت برارد و رده  
 چند صندوق حرانه که بر شترها بار بود متصرف گشتند و دختر  
 و پسر بنابر اسیر گرفته در لوازم عارت تقصیر نکردند و امرای  
 سلطان محمد بهار ترس و یدم اردو را بدیوستان المعروف سیهوان  
 رسانیده برول نمودند و آن شب تا صبح بسرایط هوشیاری پرداخته  
 حواب و آرام بر خود حرام ساختند اما روز دیگر محموم راده  
 عداسی و شیخ السنوح نصیر الدین محموم اودهی المللق پچراغ  
 دهلی و دیگر علما و مسایح و امرای کنار و ارباب دحل همگی  
 اتفاق نموده بممل ملک فیروز باریک رفته گفتند چون پادشاه  
 مرحوم و لبعهدی بنو تفویض کرده و دیگری شایسته این امر

تَقَدَّرَ تَسَامِي سَنَف و جَد زان حِلَه اَر سَنَگ مَتَدَاغِيس اَسْت  
 و اَس بَت اَر اَنَس و قَوْت جَدَه لَطَرَف و جَوَانِب سَبَب بَدَن  
 مَت سَمَت تَسَاوِي دَاك تَجَرَم مَت دَر مِيَدَه اِيَسَدَه بِيَك طَرَف  
 مَقَابِل بِيَسْت چُون حَسَب اَلْحَكَم سُلْطَان يَك دِيَوَر و بَرَان كِرْدَد  
 مَت نَكُون اَقَدَه و دَر بِن سَال كِه اَر سَتَر سَوَمَذَات مَرُگِشْت اَنَقَدَر  
 دَلَه عِبَاسِي دَهْمَه بَصَلْطَان مَحْسُود نَوَسْتَه نَوِي فَتَح خِرَاسَن  
 و هَمْدُوسْتَن و فَيَسُور و خَوَارِزْم فَرَسَدَه و سُلْطَان و فَرَزْدَان و بَرَان دَر اَر  
 دَر اَدَمَه عَقْدَه بَهْدَن سُلْطَان زَاكِيَت اَدَوْنَه و اَلْاِسْلَم و اَمِيَر مَحْسُود رَا  
 تَهَب اَدَوْنَه و جَدَال اَلْمَلَكَه و مِيَر مَحْسُود رَا جَدَال اَدَوْنَه و جَعَل  
 اَلْمَلَكَه و اَمِيَر نَوَسْتَن رَا عَصَد اَدَوْنَه و مَوِيَد اَمَلَه و نَوَسْتَن كِه مَرُكَا  
 تَو و لِيَعْبَه حَوْد كِرْدَنِي مَآبِيَر اَل كَس رَا قَتُول دَارِيَم و اِيَس دَهْمَه  
 دَر بَلَح بَصَلْطَان رَسِيَد فَقَط \*

ايضاً مده

ذَكَرَ وَقَايِع سُلْطَن مَادَشَه مَعْطَم مِيهَدت فيروز شاه

بَن سَالَار رَحِب

گوِيَدَ مَلِك مِيَرُور بَارِك كِه بَرَدَر رَدَه سُلْطَان عِيْث اَدِيَس  
 تَعَلَقْشَاه سَوْد و سُلْطَان مَحْسُود دَر بَدَن اَو نَظَر اِسْتَحْوَاف و وِيَعْبَه دِي  
 دَاَسْت چُون دَر بِيَاَرِي و تَدَاوِي و مَعَالِجَه پَدَشَاه شَرَط حَق كُدَاَرِي  
 و حُدُوت حَاكِي آوَرَد دَر اَحْوَاج عَزَايَت و شَتَت پَدَشَاه دَر دَاَرَه  
 اَو يَكِي دَر شَرَاه پَدَه شَهَام رَحَلَت و عِيْت كِرْدَن كِه و لِيَعْبَه اَو اَشَد  
 و اِيَس يَت حَوَاكِه \*

بیت

نَوَسْر سَدَر اَشِي سَنَاسَه بِي كِه مَن كِرْدَه اَم سَر رَدَتِيَن تَهِي  
 عَدَا رَوَايَت سُلْطَان مَحْسُود تَعَلَقْشَاه سَرَهَم حَوْرَن كِي بِيَرُون  
 حَصَن دَر شَرَاه اَقَدَه مَلِك مِيَرُور بَارِك و مَعْضِي اَر اَحْوَاج

## منتخب از تاریخ فرستاده

و چون پیرم دیوراحه احمیر و عیدر لسکری عظیم گرد آورده  
 سرانشها بر سلطان گرفته بودند سلطان صلاح در جنگ میدید  
 ار راه سند متوحه ملتان شد و درین راه بعضی حاشا اربی علی  
 و در بعضی محال اربی آنی محبت تمام بحال لسکریان راه  
 یافت و بمسقت بسیار در سده سدع و عسر و از بسانه عربی رسید  
 گویند و قتیکه سلطان از راه میانان سند روانه ملتان میشد بمردود  
 تاراحر پیدا کند هندوی مدول این معنی کرد و لسكر اسلام را  
 راحر شده برای برد که املا آب در آن داده بود و چون یکسانه روز  
 راه رفتند و آب اثر میافتند حالتی عجب درازدوی پدید  
 آمده اتار قیامت طاهر گشت چون سلطان اردبیل هند و قسطن  
 حال نمود حواف داد که اردائیای سومناتم تراو لسكر ترا نای  
 میان آورده ام تا غلک سارم سلطان بعصب رفته هند را بقتل  
 رسانید و در همان شب از لسكر کاه مصر را رفته و روی عسکر بر می  
 نهاده از حصر دو الحلال متصرع و انتہال نجات اراں بلیه طلید  
 چون پاسی ارسب نگذشت به طرف شمال روشنائی طاهر شد  
 لسكر حسب فرموده اراں موضع کوچ کرده در پی آن روشنائی  
 روان شد تا وقت صبح بکنار آب رسیدند و از برکت احلاص نادر شاه  
 از چنان ورطه مهلکی خلاص یافتند \*

ایضاً آمده

در جامع الحکایای مذکور است که سلطان در یکی از نتایجهای  
 آن ولایت بتی دید که در هوا معلق استاده و بهیم چیر فایم  
 به سلطان را حیرت دسب داده سر آن از حکماء زمان استفسار نمود

دانیال و مرزا شاهرج و حاجانان و مرزا یوسف خان و دیگر  
 بندگان مقتوح شد و بهادر پسر ابراهیم بنیره برهان نظام الملک  
 که به بادشاهی نام داشته بودند گرفتار گردید و در حبسی که  
 آیات حلال در برهان پور برول احلال داشت و فاعله اسیر که بهادر  
 پسر راحه علیخان در الحا متحصن بوده محاصره شده بود  
حدر فتح رسید مدت محاصره احمد نگر چهار ماه و چهار روز بود  
 درین سال حلاله نارنگی که سالها فتنه انگیز بود در عربین  
 بدست شادمان هزاره رحمی سده کوه رباط گریخت مراد بیگ  
 و چنددی ار ملازمان شریف خان انگه بدو رسیده کارش را تمام  
 کردند و در آخیر روز ماه همین سال بهادر حاکم اسیر بوسیله خان  
 اعظم باستان بوسی شتافته فاعله تسلیم نموده و در فاعله گوالیار  
 محبوس گشت درین ایام مرزا حاجی حاکم تپته در برهان پور  
 وفات یافت و حکومت تپته به پسر او مرزا عاری عنایت شد و درین  
 سال حکیم مصری در سن هشتاد سالگی وفات یافت درین ایام  
 مدوچهر بیگ ایلچی ساه عناس مرخص شد و بتاریخ یازدهم  
 اردی بهشت هزار و نه آیات حلال ار برهان پور بحاکم دارالخلافه  
 اگزه بهست نموده ولایت حاندیس را داندیس نام نهاده  
 ساهراده دانیال مرحمت فرمودند و بتاریخ سی و یکم امرداد  
 همین سال ناگه برول احلال واقع شد و بتاریخ تشم ماه مهر سال  
 مذکور رین خان کوکه در اگزه وفات یافت هیزدهم اردی بهشت سال  
 شاه فلیخان محرم در اگزه وفات یافت \*

مستار گردید و درین سال مرزا رستم پسر شاهزاده ساه مراد که در بیماری شش سال و سه ماه سختی کشیده بود در لاهور وفات یافت و در هفدهم ماه شهر یوز هزار و سس رای در اس را با حواحه شمس الدین در امر وزارت سر یک ساختند و تقاریم بست و سویم اماں ماه همین سال منوچهر بیگ با پانصد سوار فرلانش اربیش ساه عداس با اتفاق میرصفا الماک که همراه یادگار سلطان با یلچی گری رفته بود با یلچی گری آمده در لاهور باستان بوسی مشرف گشت و تقاریم بست و ششم ماه مذکور ایات حلال از لاهور بعزم تسخیر دکن متوجه اگره شد و تقاریم بست و دویم اردی بهست ماه سال مذکور شاهزاده شاه مراد در دکن بر حمت ایردی پیوست و تقاریم دویم ماه تیر شاهزاده دانیال به تسخیر دکن مرخص شد و در اواخر همین سال اصفهان بدیوانی کل سرور گشت و تقاریم ششم ماه شهر هزار و هشت اگره را بقلیچ خان سپرده ایات حلال متوجه دکن گردید و شاهزاده عالمیان سلطان سلیم را بجهت تادیب و تنبیه امر را تا زمین دار اودی پور بطرف احمیر رحمت فرمودند و راحه مانسنگ و ساه فلی خان مجرم را در رکاب شاهزاده مرخص ساختند و همدین سال گجرات را بجاگیر خان اعظم مرخص نموده مرزا شمسی پسر کلان او را بجهت صطو ربط الحاکم فرستادند و مولف این اوراق را به نحسی گری الحاکم سرور ساخته از حوالی دهل پور مرخص فرمودند در سال هزار و هشت حواحه شمس الدین که دیوان کل بود بعد از توحه رایاب حلال بحاکم اگره بدیوانی پنجاب مقرر شده بود در گذشت درین سال شاهزاده سلیم که بجهت تادیب امر را تا اودی پور رفته بود بحاکم اله آباد رفته نام بادشاهی بر خود نهاد حراجه بهار که سه لک روپیه بود متصرف خود در آورده جاگیر بدهای درگاه را متصرف شد و تقاریم ششم شهر یوز ماه همین سال احمد نگر دکن بدست شاهزاده

## منتخب از کتاب منتخب التواریخ

تصنیف حسن بن محمد حاکمی شیرازی

تاریخ ماه شهریور هزار و سه مظهر حسین مرراس سلطان حسین مرراسن بهرام مررا صفوی ارقدشار که جاگیر او بودند درگاه والا آمده در سلک امرای پنجهزاری انتظام یافت چهار پسر داشت بهرام مررا صدر مررا القاس مررا طهماست مررا سرکار سمدیل جاگیر او مقر گشت و قندشار جاگیر شاه بیگ خان کلمی عنایت شد تاریخ روز شنبه بهم صفر هزار و چهار تنیم فیضی که ملک اشعرا خطاب یافته بود وفات یافت تاریخ شوه شهر شعبان اربع و خمسين و تسعمائة متولد شده بود همدری سال حکیم برادر حکیم ابوالفتح وفات یافت و در همین سال ولایت برار که داخل ولایت دکی نظام الملک است بدست شاعرانه شاه مراد مفتوح شد و تاریخ هیدرم مرداد عمین سال اغوشاحی ببادشاه در حراسی در یک ارحصیها سده بست و نه روز کومت ارار سیار بود و شورشی در تمام هندوستان افتاد آخر صحت مددل شد و در همین سال راجه علیخان حاکم خاندیس در جنگ دکی که همراه لسكر میروزی اثر بود بقتل رسید و در سده هزار و پنجم آتشی از درون محل بادشاهی بطنای خیمه که بجهت آرایش نوروز برپا کرده بودند افتاده به بالای خیمه رسید و تمام اسباب نوروزی که در هر سال بجهت جشن نوروزی آئین می بستند بسوخت و بست و یکم ماه فروردین بادشاه بصوف کشمیر توحه نمود و سه ماه و بست روز در کشمیر بوده بلاهور بزل اجلال فرمود و شاعرانه دایال را بحکومت صوه اله آباد مرستان سبب عفت عمرای سرور اساحتند و قلیم خان باتالیقی شاعرانه

میانه نار بهادر بن سحاج حان که در ولایت مالوه حاکم بود  
 مخالفت و عداوت تمام دست داد و قوم میانه سلطان ابراهیم  
 را از پنده طلبیدند که درسیله او نار بهادر را معلوف و مہرم سارند  
 و طاقت آن مدعا بحصول ناسامید و سلطان ابراهیم مایوس  
 شدہ بحاکم بدخانیہ رفتہ براحہ اودیسیہ پیوست و در رماییکہ  
 سلیمان کرانی ناراحہ اودیسیہ جنگ نموده آن ولایت را محصور  
 گردانید سلطان ابراهیم را طلب نموده چند یرگنہ باقطاع او مقرب  
 ساخته بعد ازان او را بملک عدم فرستاد القصہ ہیمنون بعرم رزم  
 محمد حان گوریہ رفت و در موعجہ چہ کتہ کہ شیردہ گزونی کالپی  
 است جنگ کردہ او را بکاک ساحت و ملازمت سلطان عدلی  
 آمد و چون در آن آوان بدکان حصرت بصیرا دیں محمد ہمایون  
 بادشاہ ولایت اشغور و یساک را متصرف شدہ بودند سلطان محمد  
 ہیمنون را بسنگ سپاہ معول نامزد کرد چون بحاکم چنار متوجہ  
 شد و قریب بیگ حان و سکندر حان اربک و فنا حان کدک  
 و سپاہ چغتائی کہ حسب الحکم بدکان حصرت خلل الدین  
 محمد اکبر بادشاہ دہ دہلی رفتہ بودند بہ ہیمنون جنگ نموده  
 مہرم گستہ و ہیمنون معرور گردیدہ چون را براحہ بکرماحیت  
 ملقب نمود و از آنجا روان شدہ در طاهر قصبہ پانی پت بالسکر  
 طہر اثر چغتائی جنگ کردہ شکست یافت و دستگیر شدہ  
 گستہ گشت و سلطان محمد عدلی بولایت بہار در آمدہ در قصبہ  
 مدنگر بہ سلطان بہادر فرمان فرمای ملک بدگلہ و تاج حان  
 و سلیمان کرانی کہ از امرای شیر حان و سلم حان بودند مقاتلہ  
 و محارباہ نموده بقتل رسید \*



و هیئت حان و نصیب حان را که حواهر عدلی در نکاح او بود  
سلطنت برداشته به سلطان سکندر ملقب گردانیده نعم رزم  
سلطان ابراهیم رفتند و در ظاهر موضع مره که ده گرو هی  
اگره است رسیدند و سلطان سکندر از بسیاری عظیم اندیسانک  
شده بصلح راعی گشت و حواست که ولایت پنجاب را باو  
واگذار آرد سرهند و دهلی تمامی مملکت هندوستان تعلق  
سلطان ابراهیم داشته باشد و سلطان محمد بصلح راعی شد  
بعد از جنگ منبرم شد و بطرف سندل بدر رفت و ملک اگره  
و دهلی بتصرف سکندر درآمد و همدان ایام حصرت بصیرالدین  
محمد همایون بادشاه ارکانل لاهور تسریف آوردند و سکندر  
متوجه لاهور شده باسیاه معزل جنگ کرده شکست یافت  
و کوهستان درآمد و سلطان محمد عدلی مرصت یافته هیمون را  
به تسخیر ولایت اگره و دهلی مرستاد و سلطان ابراهیم که از سندل  
تجمعیت تمام روانه اگره بود در انداء راه در نواحی کالی با هیمون  
جنگ کرده منبرم گشت و به پدر خود که در بیانه حاکم بود  
پیوست و هیمون از عقب سلطان ابراهیم درآمد تا مدت سه ماه  
حصار بیانه را که بر قلعه کوه رفیع واقع است محاصره نمود درینوقت  
محمد حان گوریه استقلال تمام بهم رسانیده نعم تسخیر حویپور  
شکست و سلطان محمد عدلی دفع محمد حان گوریه را بر کارهای  
دیگر ترحیم داده به هیمون پوست که دست از محاصره سلطان  
ابراهیم کوتاه کرده جنگ محمد حان گوریه شتاند و هیمون از پای  
قلعه بیانه بطرف حویپور روان شده سلطان ابراهیم از حصار بیانه  
برآمده مرتبه دیگر با هیمون محاذله نموده شکست یافته بولایت  
یتنه رفته با راجه رام چند رمیدار آن مرزوم جنگ کرده گرفتار  
شده راجه رام چند تعظیم و احترام او بجا می آورد بروش حادمان  
و چاکران تملق و تواضع می نمود تا آنکه در میان جماعه افعال

آن ناو میدادند و امرا و سران سپاه سلطان محمد را در امور سلطنت بی پروا یافته هرکسی در ولایتی که حاکم بود سر ارطاعت پیچید و هیمنون که نقال ریواری بود بیر با سلطان محمد تقرب تمام بهم رسانیده ممرته سپه سالاری رسید و شمشیر حان و علام شیر حان که حواص حان بود به دولت حان ملقب شد و تاج حان کرانی باعمد و سلیمان برادران حود ار خدمت سلطان محمد عدلی الشراف و ریده ار گوالیار نساب بهار و نگاله برآمدند و سلطان محمد مهم گست و خود را حصار چهار که در بهایت استحکام است رسانیده متحصن شد و هیمنون نقال با سپاه گران و حلقهای فل ار دریای گنگ عنور نمود و امرای جنگ نموده شکست داد و حصار چهار را نگرفت و ارین تدونات استقلال تمام بهم رسانید در بیموت ابراهیم حان س عاریستان سور که عمراده عدلی بود و خواهر عدلی را در عقد نکاح حود داشت متوهم شده نساب بیاده شتافت و سلطان محمد عیسی حان بیاری را دفع او نامرد فرمود و در حدود کالپی جنگ کردند عیسی حان بیاری مهم شد و ابراهیم حان بد علی رفته اکثر فصاحت و پرگنات را متصرف گست و حطه و سکه بنام حود نموده سلطان ابراهیم مخاطب شد و سلطان محمد عدلی ارین سب مهم کرانیان را موقوف داشته نکوح متواتر آمد و درکنار دریای حون لسکرگاه ساحت و ابراهیم حان و کلا فرستاده سلطان محمد عدلی گفت که اگر حسن حلوانی و بهار حان شیروانی که با عظم همایون اشتهار داشت با چند کس دیگر ار امرای نامی بیایند و مرا مطمئن حاضر گردانند بملازمت مشرف خواهد شد و سلطان محمد عدلی امرای مدکور را همراه گرفت و ابراهیم حان امرا را ایل ساحته ار شهر ندرون آمد و در برابر عدلی مدرل نمود و عدلی تاب نیاورده برگست و جاگیرداران و لایف پنجاب مثل تاتار حان کاشی

## منتخب از تاریخ روضه الطاهرین

سلطان محمد عادل \* در سده هجده و شصت و یک فرمانروا  
گردیده اکثر سران سپاه را رعیت نمود و میان معروف را که پدر  
خوانده سلیم خان بود محصور طلبید و میان معروف بعدر گذرانیده  
میان شاه محمد را با سکندر پسر راده خود بخدمت فرستاد  
و سرمست خان در حضور عدلی میان شاه محمد اظهار کرد که سلطان  
سرکار قنوج را از تعیر شما یان بمن عنایت فرموده اند باید که بجهت  
خود جای دیگر التماس نمایند سکندر عدلی گفت که اربین  
بدها چه تقصیر واقع شده که جاگیر قدیم ما را باین قوم سگ  
فروش التقات میفرمایند و سرمست خان میخواست که بحیله  
سکندر را دستگیر ساخته هلاک گرداند سکندر واقف شده بصرف  
حکمر سرمست خان را از پای درآورد و بحاکم سلطان محمد  
عادل دوید و سلطان محمد عادل گریخته بدرون محل درآمد  
و حاصران بگریختند و ملا محمد الدین که از حمله و رزا بود از بیکودی  
و بی شعوری بر دیواری سوار شده تصور میکرد که اسب مدست  
و پاشنه میرد و بطر سکندر برو افتاده گفت که بحال خود باش  
که ترا امان دادم و سکندر خان چند امرای دیگر را هلاک  
ساخت و آبراهیم خان سور و جمعی اتعاق نموده بسمشیر و بیر  
سکندر را بملک عدم فرستادند و دولت خان لوهانی بعد از  
کشته شدن شاه محمد و فرزدان حوشکال شدند و تقلید سلطان  
محمد تعلق شاه نمود تنکه طلا و نقره در حقه کمال پیوسته  
باطراف و اکداف شهر می انداخت و بحانه و بدست هر که  
می افتاد آن تنکه را بدرگاه آورد پابند تنکه از حرانه در عوض

هندوي راجن و پيمانن و جوت برجن و حران ار رسایل فارسي  
و هندی ايسان مشهور افاق است تولد ايسان در بهصد و نک  
و وفات ايشان در بهصد و سصت و نه و ايسان نه برادر بودند همه  
در صفات مذکور و حید رمانه خود مردم دهلي اتفاق داشتند  
که دهلي عذاب ار ايسان است رحمت الله عليهم اجمعين \*

ايضاً مده

### در باب گذشته شدن بيرل

همدريں سال افواج فائزه که مدفع حلاف و فتنه يوسف رُئي  
رفته بود شخصی در اچه بيرل که سرکردگي بود گفت که افاعده  
امسب داعيه شب خون دارند عرض کوه تنگي ار سه چهار کوه  
بيش بيست اگر اريس تنگي عبور شود ار دعدعه خاطر جمع گردد  
بيرل بي اتفاق ريس حان اراده گذشتن اران کوتل نمود و تمام  
لسكر ار عقب او کوچ کرده در آخر آنروز که مريب معروف بود  
متوجه تنگي سد اعبان ار اطراف بالا کوه رسیده ار تنگي کوه  
نه تير و سنگ گرفته و در تنگي راه و تاريخي شب حلايق راه گم  
کردند و در گور معاك های عميق افتاده راه هلاک سيرديد و بحکم  
فضاء خداوندی شکست عظيم رسیده قريب هست هزار آدمي  
بمدرل مداروت و راحه بيرل که ار ترس جان فرار پيس گرفته بود  
هلاک شد چنانچه سانی اروی يافتند و ر يبحان و حکيم ابوالفتح  
در پنجم ربيع الاول سال مذکور شکست يافته بمحلت بسيار نه قلعه  
اتک رسدند و ايدمعي بر خاطر اشرف گران آمد و چندگاه  
ايسانرا نار کورنش ندادند و راحه بود رمل را بالسكري آراسته  
نقابي اين امر تعيين فرمودند و راحه اروی کار داني در کوهستان  
در آمده چند جا قلعه ساخت و دقيقه ار تدبير نامرعي نگداشته  
عالم وسع را بر افاعده تدگ صاحب \*

عوام را در عداوت طوائف علماء مذهب انوحیعه و شافعی  
تخریص می نمود تا میعاد نهداند و تمام طوائف ملاحده و قرامطه  
در جمعه ششم ماه رجب سنه اربع و ثلثین و ستمائنه بقدر یکبار  
مرد با سلاح ارشمسیر و سیر و غیره آن دو موح شده بمسجد  
در آمدند و ارشود طرف تبع بر مسلمانان نهادند و حلق بسیار  
بعضی به تبع آن ملاحده و بعضی زیربای خلق شهید گشتند  
و چون سبب این فتنه فقیر ار حلق برآمد مبارزان حضرت و دیگر  
مردان با جرعت در مسجد در آمدند و تبع در ملاحده و قرامطه  
گرفتند و همه را در روح فرستادند \*

ایضاً منہ

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شیخ رزق الله مشتاقی عم شیخ عبد الحق قدس سره  
برادر جد محرز سطور شیخ رزق الله مشتاقی تاریخ نامه ار  
ابتدای عهد سلطنت سلطان بهلول تا مدای جلوس سلطان  
عهد خود نوشته و واقعات مشتاقی نام کرده است و اصل دران  
کتاب و عمده بیان احوال و اوصاف سلطان سکندر است که  
سوماء مرحومی حنفی مومی الیه دران عهد بود حمایه  
اوصاف سلطان مذکور و امرای وی و عجائب و غرائب که در زمان  
وی دیده یا شنیده نگاشته است بعضی اران حکایات و بوادرات  
مشهور مردم عالم کسته که در حق غیر سلطان مذکور بیر میگویند  
عالم و جود و وقوع آن دراز منہ دیگر و دزین زمان بیر واقع  
شده باشد و شیخ رزق الله مردی کامل و عارف و در علم و فضل  
و جامعیت و در محبت و درق و وجدان معرفت و حقیقت  
و استقامت و نقل حکایات مستقیم و تواریخ ملوک و لطایف  
و طرائف یگانه عصر و یادگار سلف خود بود نرمان فارسی و هندی  
شعری دارد تخلص ایسان در نرمان فارسی مشتاقی است و در

قطب الدین ار عربین و دهر و اله و فتح گجرات عربین رمت  
و حکایت سمس الدین را سماع کرد ار سلطان معرالدین احارب  
خواست تا اورا بسرد قطب الدین آن هردو عام ترک را بیک لک  
جیتل بسرد و ناحود ده دلی آورد و آن ترک دیگر را طعاج نام  
دهاک و امیر سرهند کرد و شمس الدین التمس را فرزد خوانده  
سرد بر یک گردانید و هر روز مرتبه و جاه و شرف او را زیاده  
فرمود و چون آثار رشد در حرکات و سکنت او معاینه کرد اورا  
امیر سنار گردانید بعد ازان چون کالیور فتح کرد امیر کالیور شد  
بعد ازان اطاع بن بداون نوی داد در خدمت سلطان معرالدین  
و قطب الدین در دیار خوارزم و ترکستان و هندوستان فتح های  
عظیم و کارهای بزرگ کرد پس خط اعتاق اورا در تحریر آوردند  
و بنظر پادشاهان محفوظ و محفوظ گشت چون سلطان قطب الدین  
در لاهور مدار بنا رحمت بود ملوک و امرا باتفاق او را بر تخت  
سلطان دهلی بناییدند و وی در زمان سلطنت خویش بیر  
در بلاد هندوستان را اوچه و سیوستان و سیالکوٹ و سرهند و کهرام  
و قنوج و ترهت و کالیور و احمیر و گجرات و ملتان و لکهنوی  
و بهار و مالوه و مندو و اجین و دیگر اطراف و انکاف این ولایت  
فتح های عظیم کرد \*

ایضاً مده

و آر حمله حوادثی که در اوایل عهد سلطان رصیه افتاد بررگتر  
آن بود که قرامطه و ملاحده هندوستان باعوای شخصی که او را  
بور ترک گفتندی ار اطراف ممالک هند و گجرات و ولایت وسد  
و اطراف دار الملک دهلی و سواحل جون و گنگ در دهلی  
جمع شدند و در پیر باهم بیعت نموده قصد اهل الاسلام کردند  
و این بور ترک تذکر میگفت و او باش جمع می آمدند و علماء  
ست و جماعت را ناجی میگفت و مرجی نام منکر و حلق

## منتخب از زیلۃ التواریخ تصنیف نورالحق

ذکر سلطان شمس الدین التمس

سلطان شمس الدین التمس پادشاه عادل و منصف و کریم و جواد و عاری و محاهد و مرابط و عالم پرور و عدل گستر بود و در تعظیم مسایح و علما و رها دار پادشاهان بطیر داشت و انعام عام او شامل اصناف خلایق و طوایف مردم بود آرسادات و علما و مسایح و ملوک و امرا و کنرا و دهافین و تحارو عربا و غیرهم را هر سال ارلک ریاده بدل میفرمود و خلایق را ار اطراف گیتی و آفاق عالم بحضرت دهلوی که دارالملک هندوستان است و مرکز دایره اسلام است و حوره دین محمدی و بیضه ملت احمدی و مده الاسلام عالم صاحبها الله عن الآفات و المكافات جمع آورده و این شهر عظیم بکثرت انعامات و شمول کرامات آن پادشاه دیدار محیط رجال افاضل آفاق و ملحا و ملاد و مهر و مامن اهل عالم گشت و شمس الدین بپیر ار علامان ترکی بود اول بدست یکی ار اقربای صدر جهان به بخارا فروخت شد و دران حاندان عرب و دردمان طهارت تربیت یافت و ارا بحا بدست تاجری دیگر فروخت شد ار و بدست دیگری افتاد تا اورا بعربین آوردند و دران مدت هیچ علامی ترک نابین حسن و جمال و اوصاف حمیده و احلاق مرضیه بیامده بود و دگروی بخدمت سلطان معر الدین سام عرض داشت آمد فرمود تا اورا قیمت کردند او نادیدار ترک در یک سلک بود و هزار دینار برکنی قیمت او متعین شد مالک وی در فروختن او مصایقه نمود سلطان معر الدین فرمود تا هیچ آفریده او را بحرد مالکش ناره بخارا نرد و بعد ار مدت سه سال بعربین آمد بعمران سلطان او را کس نمیخرید چون سلطان

ایسان رفت و چون محمد خان که با اعتماد مندان رت او سوار شده بود بقتل رسید یوسف شاه امان طلبیده دهر سو رفت و رسید مندان حکومت نشست و بعد چند گاه یوسف شاه بموجب کدایت‌های کسمیریان بار قصد کسمیر نمود و رسید مندان برآمده او را هریمت بهاد یوسف شاه بکوه‌های اطراف بگریخت و رسید مندان بفتح و میرزوی کسمیر آمد و وقتی دیگر چکان همه اتفاق کرده یوسف شاه را طاعنند سید مندان که از اجتماع این اصطراب نمود و کس را پیش یوسف شاه مرستاد تا بوی بگوید که می شمارا سلطنت قبول داریم و ار عمل خود پشیمان یوسف شاه در راه بود که بوی خبر رسید که کسمیریان بلوکه که سرامد چکان بود قرار سلطنت دادند یوسف شاه هم از راه برگشته پیش شد یوسف شاه که از امرای نامدار مندان اکثر شایعی بود بلاغوا مد و اتفاق شد یوسف شاه و راحه ماسنگ که آن زمان ترین امرا تحت استعداد لشکر هست و سرامد جميع راحها که در خدمت مندان حصرت اند اوست بفتح پور آمده بمادمت مندان حصرت استفاق یافت و در سده سبع و ثمانین یوسف خان اتفاق راحه مان سنگه به تسمیر کسمیر رحصت یافته در حدود کسمیر درآمده و اتفاق جميع کسمیریان مقابل برآمده بر کنار بیت منزل گرفت بعد چند روز حنگی صعب روی داده آخر نامداد و اعانت مندان حصرت سیم فتح و میرزوی بر چرم دولت یوسف خان و ریک \*



در حیطه تصرف و اقتدار بدگان این درگاه فلک حاه درآمده  
متجاوز ار حد حصر و احصا و خارج ار حیطه عدد و شمار است  
 و نه هیچ سلاطین با تقدم ندود \*

### بیت

با وجود طول عمر حسروان کس را نشد

الچه او را شد میسر راول عهد شناب

و کس من الله مستدکران یجمع العالم فی واحد و تحقیقت ار  
 پادشاهان و ملوک و سلاطین که درین اوراق مذکور شده اند ذکر  
 آنجا در حصرت عالی مرتدش و اطلاق لفظ پادشاهی بر ایشان  
 با اسم عظیم الشان ار محض خطا و سوء ادب است الا دوسه کس  
 ارین میان نا شده که شاید بطریق مکار و باعتدار صورت توان  
 نام شان برد و آن بیربی گوشه حرارت و جسارت نخواهد بود القصه  
 تعصیل فتوحات و جهان ستادی و فواید و ضوابط و روابط عالمگیری  
 و عجاب و عرایب احکام و اوامر و اوضاع و اختراعات این شهیدشاه  
 رمان در دفاتر و محکدات ننگد اگر مدت عمر فسمت پیدا کرد  
 و توفیق و تائید پروردگار دستگیری مرمود حسب الطافت  
 و الامکان بدل مکهود و صرف همت نموده تنقصیر دران راضی  
 نخواهد شد انشاء الله تعالی حق سبحانه تصرف و تائید دین مدین  
 و تقویت و تمسیت شرع متین بردست توفیق این شهیدشاه و فرمان  
 روائی رمین و رمان محکد و مودد دارد آمین یا رب العالمین \*

### ایضاً مده

ذکر تسلط یوسف خان بعد ار و پسر وی یوسف خان را  
 یوسف شاه ملقب ساخته بحای او نصب کردند و اندال خان را  
 که عموی او بود بگفته سید منارک و بیر باتفاق جمعی کثیر بقصد  
 فتنه برآمده سرار اطاعت یوسف شاه نیچید یوسف شاه بر سر

امروز هماپیویه نگدشته بود که وقت شام در قلعه شاه دین پناه  
 دیشلی بر کسک لعل که از پادشاهی سطنایی بود تفرج هوا برآمده  
 استاده بود و بقصد تعطیم استماع اذان معرف حواست که حلوس  
 فرماید ناکاه پای سریر فرسای بلعید و ازان بلند می بر زمین افتاد  
 همان ساعت یا بعد از چند روز طایر روح پرفقوح ناشیان خدمت  
 برید انا لله و انا الیه راجعون بعد از وی پسر وی سلطان عظیم الشان  
 رفیع المکان اسد المعارک و المعاری ابو القتمح حلال الدین  
 محمد اکثر پادشاه عاری حلد الله می مراعیه ملکه و سلطانه  
 و افاض علی العالمین بره و احسانه که حایعه عهد و سلطان رمان  
 و شهید شاه دوزان و حاکم علی الاطلاق و پادشاه اوق است در اوان  
 صغیر و عنفوان عمر پای عرت و عظمت بر سریر سلطنت  
 و جهان دنی و تحت کامرانی بهان و از اول حلوس تا آن که مدت  
 سلطنت نظم و دولت کمری این شهید شاه عالی براد عالم مدار  
 اقالیم ستان ریاض بر چهل سال گذشته هنوز عنفوان سلطنت  
 و آغار دولت است بهر روز فتی قاره و بصرتی بلند اواره محض  
 توفیق ربانی و مدد اسمانی ظهور می رسد تا آنکه جمیع اکناف  
 و اطراف ممالک هندوستان تا اقصی ناک شرقی و غربی و جنوبی  
 و شمالی و سایر بتاع و بلاد و قلاع و حصون چهار دانگ هندوستان  
 بی شرکت و مراحمیت غیر در قصه اقتدار و حوره اختیار این  
 سلطان جهانگیر گیتی ستان معوض و مسلم گسته و آرسه طرف  
 ملک بدریای شور پیوسته و جمیع پادشاهان و پادشاهزادگان  
 و ملوک و امرا و رایان و راجها و تمام طوایف آنام و کافه اصناف  
 حایق ارخاص و عام در رتبه اطاعت و سلک ملازمت و سلسله  
 ارادت این درگاه معلی و حصرت علیا درآمده سر بر خاک  
 مدلت و زمین عربت نهاده اند و آنچه از اسب و فیل و لشکر  
 و سدا و اسداف و ولایت و اموال و حرایس و دیگر مواد جهان داری

که داشت سلطان ناصرالدین دختر او را گرفت و رمام مهمام مملکت  
 بدست احتیاری وی داد و بعد از خود و لیعهد گردانیده از دارمدا  
 بدار بقارحلت فرمود و این سلطان ناصرالدین را این بصیرالدین  
 عازمی گویند و خیر او مطاف و مزار عموم خلق است و مدت  
 پادشاهی وی نود و سه سال بود و طغقات دصیری بذا م وی تالیف  
 یافته تا سال پانزدهم که سنه ثمان و خمسین و ستمائنه باشد  
 نوشته است \*

### ایضاً آمده

فیروز شاه بر سر بر جهانپایی جلوس کرد و او را مبارز خان که  
 خال او بود کست چنانچه سلیم شاه با روجه خود که خواهر مبارز خان  
 بود از روی فراست میگفت که اگر رنگی پسر میکشایی  
 برادر را بکستن اذن بمن ده و یا دست از حیات پسر بردار آنوقت  
 نقص عقل این سخن را بفهمید و بقتل برادر راضی نسد  
 آخر همچنان شد که سلیم شاه گفته بود پادشاهی فیروز شاه  
 ارسه روز و پنج گهری پیرس برفت بعد ازین جمیع اعیان که  
 اقارب ایشان بودند بدعوی سلطنت برآمده یکی خود را  
 سکندر حطاف کرد و دیگری سلطان انراشیم و آخری سلطان محمد  
 عادل و بجنگ و جدال و برع و قتال یکدیگر در افتادند تا سه  
 چهار سال فتنه و فساد و هرج و مرج و غوغای این افاغنه در میان  
 بود که ناگاه در شهر شوال سنه ثلث و ستین و تسعمائنه نارحمای  
 سلطنت همایون بر سر ممالک هندوستان سایه سعادت و کرامت  
 ادا داشت و غدار و حشمت و بیرسانی که بر جمال دولت این  
 سلطنت ادا مدت بنسخته بود با تسکین و جمعیت شسته شد  
 و جانی نو در قالب مملکت برآمده موجب سرور و عیش  
 و کامرانی و شکرگذاری خاص و عام گشت و امیدهای بی افدا  
 از نواظر امرا و فقرا سر برد خنور شش ماه کامل از قدوم مسرت

## منتخب از کتاب تاریخ حقیقی

دگر سلطنت ناصرالدین محمود

بعد از آن سلطان ناصرالدین محمود بن سلطان شمس الدین  
تتعلق و اجماع بر سرِ سلطنت دهلوی بست صاحب  
طغقات ناصر کرد که آنچه حق تعالی از احقاق انبیا  
و اعمام اولیا و زرات معظم این پادشاه و پادشاه راده و دیعب  
دهاده است و در عصر میمون او تعذیه کرده از تقوی و دیانت  
و رشد و عیانت سفتت و مرحمت و معدلت و انعام  
و مکرمت و حیا و معا و ثبات و وقار و عیام و قیام و تلاوت و عباد  
و کم از کم و در تاری و مستمت علم و علما و مروت مسایح تا دیگر  
و تعالی گردیده و آثار پسندیده که او اوارم سلطنت و مواحب  
صلالت باشد بتعلق اشل عصر زرات هیج پادشاهی از سلاطین  
ایام ماضیه و ملوک فزون سائنه نورالله مرا قد هم جمع نبود و  
طهارت ذیل و عمت طاهر و باطل این سلطان بن سلطان اعلی  
ساده و اعظم پادشاه چند است که بتحریر و تقریر راسب بیاید  
و سلطان شمس الدین او را بنام و نصب پسر کلان خود ناصرالدین  
محمود که حاکم لکهنوتی بود و همد رمان سلطنت وی از عالم روت  
حوادث بود سلطان ناصرالدین بعد از خلوس بر سرِ سلطنت  
در سال فتی و کاری کرد که از آنجا عرف اسلام و شوکت مسلمانان  
بظهور رسد و شیوه عدل پروری و داد گستری بوحود آمد و حلیفه  
و نایب و ثانی در کل امور سلطنت و مهمام مملکت ایستل معظم بود  
که داماد پدر وی بود بعد از وی سلطان عیاب الدین بن سلطان لقب  
بافت و این عیاب الدین از علما و شمس بود بحسب فانیته

سیاری بسوختند و آخر ملک کشمیر صلح قرار آمد از ضرورت  
و حال بسیار هدیها فرستاد و صورتی کردند از موم ملک کشمیر  
پای آن بدرید گفت سوگند راست کردم و بار نکشت برآه دریا گفتند  
آب عله داره بشید و بر ساحل بیامد بر منری که آب کمتر  
گشت چند فرسنگ از عرض و ملک کشمیر آلتایگاه عمارتها کرد  
و دیهها و دریا را بریان هندی ساوند و خواند و آنجا را ساوندی  
نام نهادند و هم بر آن سان نمادند و بسیار جایها بتکده کرد و شهرهای  
خوف تا از دشمنی خبر آمدش کشمیر پس سوی ولایت بازگشت  
و دشمن را عله کرد پادشاهی نمادند اندر فرزندانش و همه هندوان  
بطاعت و رمین سدد راسه ملک بودند تا آخر کشور هندوان  
بر ملک قعد قرار گرفت بعد از آنکه بمردی علیه کرد ایسان را  
و برهمی او را دعا کرده بود که جمله پادشاهی او را گردد و اسلام \*

ایضاً آمده

دگر فرزدان قعد از پس قعد پسرش ایند پادشاهی بدست  
و ولایت سدد بچار قسمت کرد ملک را بمقلد و سه بنسند و دیگری  
را بولایت روزوانچ متعلق است بدان و سدیگر ولایت سایند  
ملکی دیگر زاداد و چنارم رمین هندوستان و دمه و کوهانه خدا گانه  
دیگری را سید و این از پس هال بود چون روزگار ایند سپری شد  
پسرش راسل پادشاه گشت و مدتی نماد تا یکی بوی بر ساحت  
و او را از پادشاهی بیرون کرد و راسل بتاحیت جنوب آمد و الحاق مقام  
گرفت و او را دو پسر بود یکی را نام زوال و دیگری بماریص حرد بود \*



## منتخب از کتاب مجمل التواریخ

### حدیث رط و مید

بحکم آنکه اول کتاب این ذکر بود هم بر آن سان ابتدا بدین فصل  
 کردم گویند دو گروه بودند بر میی سد و رودی که آنرا بهر خوانند  
 یکی را مید خواندندی و دیگری را رط از مردمان حام و اکنون به لفظ  
 عرب اندر هندوان را رط خوانند پس چنان روایت است که میدیان  
 بر رطیان غلبه داشتندی و همی ربحانیدندی تا ازان جایگاه  
 تحویل کردند و برود پهن اندر رفتند و ازان روی جایگاهی مقام  
 گرفتند و ایشان ملاحی دانستند و در آف پیامدندی نقاحتن  
میدیان و ایشان خداوندان گوسعدان بودند تا کار چنان گشت  
 که رطیان ایشانرا ربون کردند و بسیاری را کشتند و عارت نمودند  
 و میدیان مسخر رط شدند پس به نصیحت مهرتری از آل رط  
 ایشانرا گفت روزگار چنین نماند یکچندی بر ما بودار ایسان و اکنون  
 از ما برایسان است عوات آنست که با ایشان صلح کنیم و باتفاق  
 آن ما و ایسان سوی ملک دجوشن بن دهرات رویم و از وی  
 در خواهیم تا این زمین ما را پادشاهی فرستند تا ما و ایشان در  
 فرمان وی باشیم و عاقبت بیکو گردد مردمان گفتند هر چه تو رای  
 بینی بعد بسیاری مناظرها و حکایات حکمت این کار تمام کردند  
 و ملک دجوشن آن ولایات نخواهرش داد دسل ننت دهرات  
 و او را بجندرت داد و بود ملکی بزرگ پس بیامد و این زمین را  
بگرفتند و شهرها و غیر آن و فرانگی دسل در کتاب گفتند  
 پس در آن کشور هیچ دانا و برهمن بیامت ندان بررگواری و یر  
نعمتی و جاهی پدیس برادر نامه نوشت در ار بدین سبب دجوشن





همد است مستمل بر انواع قصص و مواعظ و مصالح و اخلاق و آداب  
 و معارف و اعتقادات و بیان مذهب و طریق عبادات ایشان  
 در من جنگ طایفه گوران و پندوان که رمان روایان هند بودند  
 و بعضی میگویند که چهار هزار سال و نقول جمعی هستند و چند  
 هزار سال گذشته و طاهرا ارمان آدم علیه السلام پیش اند و کفره  
 هند خواندن و نوشتن آنرا عبادات عظیم میدانند و ار مسلمانان  
 پنهان میدارند و باعث برین آن بود که چون شاه نامه و قصه  
امیر حمزه را به هند حاکم در مدت پانزده سال نویسانیده و رر  
 بسیار در تصویر آن خرچ شده همچنین قصه ابومسلم و جامع  
الحکایات و غیر آن را مکرر شنیدند حاضر رسانیدند که اکثر آیدها  
 شاعری و ساحتگی است اما چون در ساعت حوب گفته شده  
 و احقر در گذر بوده شهرت تمام گرفته اکنون کتابها هندی را که  
 دانایان مرتاض عابد نوشته اند و همه صحیح و نص قاطع است  
 و مدار دین و اعتقادات و عبادات این طایفه بران است ترجمه  
ار هندی بریان فارسی فرموده چرا نام خود ساریم که غیر مکرر  
 و تازه است و همه مثمر سعادت دنیوی و دینی و منتج حسمت  
 و شوکت بیروال و مستوحب کثرت اولاد و اموال چنانچه در خطب  
 آن کتب نوشته اند بنابرین حود مقید شده و دانایان هند را  
 جمع کرده حکم فرمودند که کتاب مہانبارت را تعبیر میکرده  
 باشند و چند شب بنفس بنفس معانی آنرا نقیب خان حاضر  
 نشان ساختند تا ما حاصل را فارسی املا میگرد و شب سیوم  
فقیر را طلب فرموده حکم کردند که باتفاق نقیب خان ترجمه  
 میکرده باشم و در مدت سه چار ماه ار هیزده من آن مرحرف  
لاطایل که هیزده هزار عالم دران متحیر است دو من نوشته شد  
 و چه اعتراضات که شنید و حرام حورم و شلم خورم ایدمعنی  
 داشت گویا نصیب فقیر ارین کتابها همین بود النصیب نصیب



آمد و اسمعیل را بعد شکست ششماه در عربین محاصره داشت  
 بعد از آن بیکسواهان در میان آمده میان ایشان صلح دادند و اسمعیل  
 آمده محمود را دید و حکومت یمنین الدوله قرار گرفت و میان  
 محمود و منصور بن بوح سامانی و برادرش عبدالملک بن بوح  
 مدارعت روی داد آخر محمود غالب آمد و امرای عبدالملک  
 فایق و مکتور بن بکر محاصره نموده از پیش محمود منبرم شدند  
 و سلطنت تمام حراسان و عربین و حدود هندوستان بر محمود  
 مسلم گشت چون مادرش دختر رئیس رابل بود بدین سبب  
 محمود رابلی میگوید چنانچه فردوسی میگوید \*

#### بیت

حجسته در گه محمود رابلی در یاست  
 چکونه دریا کنار کناره پیدا بیست  
 شدیم بدینا و غوطه ردم بدیده در  
 گداه بخت منست این گداه دریا بیست

و از آن با خلیفه بغداد اتفاق نامه عباسی اول مراسلات عشقیه  
 واقع شد آخر خلیفه خلعتی فاجر با سایر بغایس و ذحایر روانه  
 داشته لقب یمنین الملت و یمنین الدوله برای او فرستاد و از عربین  
 به بلخ و هرات رفته در سده سح و تمنین و تلثمائه در صبط آورده  
 بخربین بار گشته آمد فقط \*

#### ایضاً آمده

و در دیگر تماشای قلعه رفته حکم مرمت و تعمیر شکست  
 و بخت آن فرمودند و در اندای آن تماشای چند دیگ بزرگ  
 و صوب رنگ عظیم که سلیمان سلطان خوانده کارزوم در وقت  
 عربیت تسخیر بغداد و گجرات با سیاهی گران دریا روانه ساخته  
 آخر بتقریب مابقی آن لسكر بطرف شد و آن دیگها را آن زمان  
 بار در کنار دریا ماند و جداوند خان وزیر در زمان تعمیر صورت

## منتخب از کتاب تاریخ بمانی

ملوک الب تگین که بم امیر منصور بن روح سامانی بود در سده سب و ستین و ثلثمائة بعد از وفات ابواسحاق بن الب تگین اتفاق سپادی و رعیت و رئیسان بر تخت سلطنت حلوس نمود عام ملک ستانی بر او داشت و نورا و حهاک کمر حد و احتیاج بسته نظرف شد رستان تاحت آورده در سرحد ولایت کوه خود با حیبال که فرمانروای شد بود حدگی عظیم کرد ناور مانع دموه و بعد از نص عهد حیبال ناردیگر با لسهوهای آراسته تعداد یک لک سوار و میدان کوه پیکر بیسمار قصد محاربه او داشته در نواحی لمعانات محاربه قوی کرد و بسیم طهر بر پرچم امیر ناصرالدین و رنده شکست بر لسكر حیبال رسید و او گریخته بهد رمت و تا لمعانات بتصرف امیر ناصرالدین آمده حطه و سکه بدم او رواج یافت و بکومک امیر روح بن منصور سامانی رفته حراسان و ماموران الدهر مصدر فتوحات عظیم گشت و در شعبان سده سب و ثمانین و ثلثمائة داعی حق را احانت فرمود و مدت حکومت او بست سال •

یمین الدوله سلطان محمود بن ناصرالدین عربوی • چون سکتگین در شهر شعبان سده سب و ثمانین ثلثمائة در راه عربین داعی حق را بسمل احانت گفت پسر خود اسمعیل را ولیعهد گردانید چون این خبر بمحمود که پسر بزرگ سکتگین بود رسید برادر را اعرنامه نوشت و طلب صلح کرد باین قصد که عربین را اسمعیل بمحمود بدهد و در عوض آنولایت بلخ را بگیرد اسمعیل قبول نکرد و میان برادران کار محاربه انجامید و محمود غالب

گوالیار شد چون گرفتن قلعه دشوار بود مال مقرری ار رای  
 گوالیار گرفته به بیانه رمت و ارسمس خان اوحدی حاکم بیانه  
 بیر باج گرفته دهایی آمد و در سده عشرین و ثمان مائة حدری  
 طوعان و بعضی ترکان که ملک سدهو را کشته بودند رسید  
 ربرک خان حاکم سامانه بر سر ایشان تعیین شد چون سامانه  
 قریب شد باعیان قلعه سرهند را گذاشته بحاسب کوه رفتند  
 ملک کمال بدهن که در قاعه بود بحات یافته بحدمت رسید  
 ربرک خان محالغان را تعاقب کرده بقصبه نابل رسید طوعان  
 که صاحب ترکان بود انقیاد نموده پیشکش قبول کرده پسر خود را  
 بگرو داد و ترکان کشنده ملک سدهو را از خود جدا کرده  
 ربرک خان بحاسب سامانه مراجعت نموده مال و پسر او را  
 بحدمت حصر خان مرستان و در سده احدی و عشرین و ثمان مائة  
 حصر خان تاج الملک را بر سر سکه راجه کتبیر مرستان چون لسكر  
 از آب گنگ گذشته بر سکه ولایت را حالی کرده در جنگل ابوله  
 در آمد و در پناه جنگل پاره تلاش نموده بفریمت رفته اسب  
 و سلاح و سایر اسباب او بدست افتاد امواج تاکوه کما یون تعاقب نموده  
 و غنیمت بسیار بدست آورده روز پنجم بلسکر ملحق شد بعد از آن  
 تاج الملک از راه دداون بکنار آب گنگ آمد و از گذر بچلانه عبور  
 نموده و مهانت خان حاکم دداون را رحمت کرده با تاوه متحصن  
 شده تاج الملک ولایت آتاوه را تاراج نموده آخر بصلح قرار داده  
 و در ماه ربیع الاول سده مذکور بشهر مراجعت کرد \*

رمیداران آن دیار را گوشمال سرا فرمود و رای در سگه  
 گریخته در دزدانوه درآمد و چون کار بدو تنگ شد  
 از روی عسر مالکداری نموده رعیتی اختیار کرد مهانت حان  
 حاکم نداؤن بیر آمده ملازمت نمود اربابا بکار آب رهپ گرفته  
 بکدر سرکداری رسید و از آب گنگ گذشته کابران کهور که الان  
 سمس انداخته‌بار دارند و کپله را ابهرام داده از راه قصه سکیت  
 بتقصه پاد عم رمت حسینی حان حاکم را پیری و حمزه برادر او آمده  
 دیدند و رای سر بیر مطیع و معتاد شده بخدمت رسید راحه  
 گوالیار و را پیری و چندوار بیر مالکداری کردند و قصه جلیسر را  
 اردست را حیوتان چندوار برآورده بمسلمانان قدیمی آن قصبه  
 داده شقدار تعین نمود و اربابا بولایت گوالیار درآمد عارت  
 و تاراج کرده آنچه معتزلی هرساله بود از رای گوالیار گرفته اربابا  
 بسپردار رمت و ارس سگه رمیں دار چندوار و کپله و پنیالی مال  
 گرفته بردیگ چندوار از آب حون گذشته بدشلی آمد و در ماه  
 حمادی الاول سده مذکوره حنر رسید که جماعه ترکان از قوم  
 بدیم حان ترکیسته ملک سدهونا شررا که حادب شاهراده مدارک  
 حان حاکم سرهند بود بعد رگشته قلعه سرهند را متصرف شدند  
 حصر حان ریزک حان را بالسكر گران برای ایشان تعیین کرده  
 ترکان از آب سئل گذشته بکوه درآمدند ریزک حان تعاقب کرده  
 بکوه درآمد و تا دو ماه تردد نموده بلیتصول مقصود مراجعت  
 کرد و در ماه رحب سده مذکوره حنر آمد که سلطان احمد گجراتی  
 قلعه ناگور را محاصره نموده است حصر حان جهت تسکین این  
 از راه توده بسادب ناگور عزیمت نمود سلطان احمد حدگ نا کرده  
 بولایت خود مراجعت کرده حصر حان برگشته سهر نو عروس  
 حبابی که از بدهای سلطان علاءالدین خلجی بود رمت الیاس  
 حاکم آن شهر آمده دید مفسدان آن دیار را گوشمال داده متوجه

احلاق و پاکیزگی طیبت و بررگی حال او دلیل بر بررگی  
سبب او بود \*

### بیست

اگرچه ار حسب آمد فعال بیک ولی

ستودگی شیم ار حلال سبب است

القصه در زمان سلطان فیروز شاه ملتان را ملک مردان دولت  
داشت و بعد از فوت او ملک شیخ متصرف شده در اندک زمانی  
درگذشت و سلطان فیروز شاه ملتان را بحصر حان داد و اران بار  
حصر حان را امراء کنار شد پیش اران که دهلی را متصرف شود  
جنگهای عظیم فتحهای بزرگ اوردست او درآمد چنانچه گذشت  
بتاریخ پانزدهم شهر ربیع الاول سنه سده عسروثمان مائه دهلی را  
متصرف شد و باوجود استعداد ساطت و اسباب ملک داری  
اسم نادرشاهی بر خود اطلاق نمیکرد و برایات اعلی محاط بود  
و سکه و خطبه در ابتدا بنام امیر تیمور و در آخر بنام مرزا شاهرخ  
مقرر داشت و در آخر خطبه نام حصر حان هم می بردند  
و دعا میکردند و ملک بحورا تاج الملک خطاب کرده و زیر ساحت  
سید سالم را سهار پور عطا کرد و ملک عدد الرحیم پسر خوانده  
ملک سلیمان را علاء الملک خطاب داده ملتان و فتح پور حواله  
نمود ملک سرور را شحه شهر ساحت ملک حیرالدین حانی را  
عارض ممالک نمود و ملک کالو را شحه فیل و ملک داؤد  
خدمت دبیری یافت اختیار حان را بمیان دواب تعین کرد  
و ار حانه رادان سلطان محمود ساه هرکه و طبعه و اداری داشت  
بحال خود مقرر داشته بحاکمیر انسان را رخصت کرد و هم در  
سنه مذکوره تاج الملک را با لشکر گران بحاسب دواؤن و کیتهل  
فرستاد تا متمدان آن ولایت را گوشمال داد رعیت سار  
تاج الملک را آب جون و گدگ گذشته بولایت کیتهل در آمده

حیدرال حمایل مرمع بود که آنرا بران هندی مالا گویند و منصوران  
 میست آنرا یکصد و شستاد هزار دینار کرده بودند در گردن دیگر  
 برانان او نیز حمایل‌های قیمتی یافتند و این فتح روز سده هستم  
 ماه محرم سده اثنی و تسعین و ثلثمائنه بود و از آنجا نقله هند  
 که حای بودن حیدرل بود رفته آنوائت را مستر ساحت و چون  
 بهار شد عربین مراجعت نمود و در محرم سده ثلث و تسعین  
 و ثلثمائنه نار سیستان رفته و حلف را منعقد ساخته عربین آورد  
 و نار عربیت هندوستان بدو قصد بهاطیده کرد و از نواحی ملتان  
 گذشته در طاهر بهاطیده فرود آمد بستر راحه آنجا ارس بکثرت  
 مپاه و میان و مقامات قلعه معرور بود لسكر خود را بمقابلہ سلطان  
 گذاشته چون ناچندی در کنار آب سند روت و سلطان ایدمعنی  
 دریافته حمعی را بر سر او فرستاد و چون موج سلطان او را گرد  
 گرفتند او حلیتی بر خود داده دلت شد و سرش را بر د سلطان  
 آوردند و سلطان تبع بیدریغ بر متاعان او رانده حلق کثیر را بقتل  
 آورد و تعلیمت بسیار از برده و بیل بفایس هندوستان بدست  
 آورد: عربین روت فقط •

### ایضاً مده

دگر ساطدت حصر خان بن مالک سلیمان • نقل است که ملک  
 مردان دولت که از امراء سلطان فیروزشاه بود ملک سلیمان  
 پدر حصر خان را در حال طغولیت فرود گفته برورده بود نصبت  
 رسیده که روزی ملک مردان دولت امیر سید جلال بخاری و دس  
 سره را مهمان کرد و در وقت طعام کشیدن بفرموده ملک مردان  
 دولت ملک سلیمان بدست شستن اهل مجلس فیام میدمود  
 و سید جلال فرمودند که این جوان سید زاده را این خدمت  
 لایق بیست و آرسن میفرسید جلال تصدیق نسب او نمودند  
 حصر خان جوانی بود صالح صادق القبول پسندیده اطوار صاحب



## منتخب از کتاب طبقات اکبری

### ذکر سلطان محمود بن سبکتگین

بعد از فوت سبکتگین امیر اسماعیل که پسر بزرگ سبکتگین است قایم مقام شده خواست که امیر محمود را از میراث محمود سار و امیر محمود برو غالب آمده جانشین پدر شد و لشکر حاسب بلخ کشید و ولایت حراسان را بتصرف درآورد و چون آنملک را از خس و خاشاک مخلفان صاف ساخت و آواره کوس دولتس ناظراف رسید خلیفه عبداد القادر بالله عداسی خلعتی س فاخر که پیس اران هیدج خلیفه بهیج نادرشاهی مانند آن بهرستاده بود فرستاد امین الملت و یمین الدولت لقب داد سلطان در اواخر ذی قعدة سده تسعین و تلمثائة ار بلخ بهرات رفت و ار الحاکم سیستان رفته حلف بن احمد نام حاکم آلجا را مطیع حود ساحته بهرین آمد و ار خرین بهدوستان متوجه شد حصاری چند نگرم و بار گشت و با ایلك خان خویشی کرد و قرار یافت که آن حصار ایلك خان باشد و رای سلطان در شوال سده احدی و تسعین و تلمثائة ار عربی عربیت بهدوستان نموده ناده هرار سوار به پرشاور در آمده راجه حیدال ناده هرار سوار و پداده سیار و سید زنجیر فیل در برابر آمده معركة کارزار بیاراست و مریقین با یکدیگر در او بسته داد مردانگی دادند نالاحرة سلطان محمود بفتح و میروری اختصاص یافت و راجه جیدال با پانده بهرار بهر و برادران اسیرگست و پنجه بهرار کس ار کهاران دران معركة بقتل رسیدند گویدند که در گردن

## ایضا آمده

اردگر و نواح سمه اربع و تسعین و سعمهانه

در بی سال سلطان محمود حاکم دهلی که بوقت آمدن صاحب فران  
 بکسرا در بسته بود اراکبا در آمده در بوقت دهلی آمد  
 اقبالان استمدال نمود در کوچه شمایون آورد اما اسباب سلطنت  
 نداشت ام دست اقبالان بود و سلطان محمود را احتیاری بدست  
 بدین سلطان محمود طقت بیاورد و عریضت قنوج بود اقبالان  
 بیزه مراد مد کوچ در کوچ قنوج روان شدند مبارک شاه حاکم  
 حویلیوز در بی سال فوت شد و برادر سلطان ابراهیم حاکم آن  
 ناحیه شده بود از آمدن سلطان محمود و اقبالان حیرت ارسد  
 لیسکر مستعد بعزم جنگ ایستاد و چون لیسکرها نایکدگر  
 نزدیک شدند سلطان محمود که اراکبا در آورده حاضر بود ندیده  
 بکسار سوار شد بد سلطان ابراهیم رفته او از آمدن سلطان محمود  
 که وای ملک بود چندان حوش بیامد و سلطان محمود هم اراکبا  
 بیرون آمد: بسطه قنوج رفت و سائرا ده مریوی که ارقنل  
 مبارک شاه حاکم قنوج بود اراکبا بیرون کرده قنوج را بتصرف  
 در آورده و اقبالان دهلی مراجعت کرد و سلطان ابراهیم  
 حویلیوز رفت و بر سلطان در قنوج "مان و متعلقان او متفرق  
 شده بودند جمع شده مملکت قنوج برو قرار گرفت و او بیز  
 بهمانجا فاع شده ارسر ریاده طلایی در گذشت فقط

میرهت و میان دواب و سدنل و پانی بت و حیرت بصرف ساه  
متصرف سد و شر کس ار امرا که در ولایت بودند حای  
حدود را محکم کرده سرکسی مرور نمی آوردند و سلطان مستوف  
معری حان را ستر حرانه و حصار دھلی چیری در تصرف نماده \*

ایضاً مده

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ار ذکر وقایع سده اتمان و تسهیم و تسهیم اده

درین سال محملی ار وقایع شد و ستن آنکه سارنگان چون  
ملتان را تصرف آورده متوجه سامانه سد و عالم حان را ار سامان  
بیرون کرد و تصرف ساه خسر یافته تاتار حان حاکم پانی بت نا  
ملک الماس عهده دار بالسكر آراسته بدیع سارنگان تعیین نمود  
و در اوایل محرم سده تمانه تاتار و سارنگان جنگ کرده  
سارنگان سکست یافت و ملتان گریخت \*

ایضاً مده

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ار ذکر وقایع سده تلم و تسهیم و تسهیم اده

و درین سال احوال هندوستان آنست که ابدال حان صاحب  
اثاره لسكر کشید و مقدم آنکارا سکست دانه بقنوج رفت  
و سلطان مبارک شاه ار حوبپور متوجه اوسد و در کنار آب گنگ  
بیکدیگر رسیدند و آب میانجی کرده دو ماه در برابر نا یکدیگر  
نشسته اند و گذر میسر نشده هر دو نحای خون مراحوب کردند  
و اقتدا حان در راه سمس حان و مبارک خاں را که ناو همراه سده بودند  
بعدر بقتل آورد و درین سال طعا حان برکچه که داماد غالب حان بود  
و حصر حان بیر ناستعداد حود متوجه اوسد و در احوال هن جنگ  
واقع سد و حصر حان غالب سد و عالم حان و دیگر امرا که همراه  
طعا حان بودند او را مکر گسته اند و قنده آرام یاد \*

و در کشتن و زوال دین را شکست و نابو حال گریخته ادلهای رفت  
و سلطان محمود سلا نیز بدینا مراجعت نمود و معری حال  
باستقلال بیرون آمد. عثرمت گزیده از طرح وضع او و همی در دل  
نهادند و سر درختت و مستعد حدک شد و حصاری شد  
و سعدتتال نیز تمام انواع سلطان را توتیس دادند و یک بدو از  
آمد و سه در حدک شد و سعدتتال از سلطان محمود دیگر شد  
و با دریکال خود و سر آمد و معری حال پیوست و تمام اسباب  
ساختت دست سعدتتال افتاد و دیگر دانه حدک کرد و شکست  
خورد و در سر درختت و سعدتتال بعد از این رفت چه در شکل  
بود یک روز فاشقی که کز کشتن من کشتن من میورسند را که در دانه  
میورس بود و شکستت و مطلب بود است

سیال را با عساکر فاشره بدفع سجاکو کرکه ناعی سده حصار لاهور را  
 متصرف سده بود نامرد کرد شهراده اراده داشت که بطرف  
 لاهور روان شود که حذر وفات سلطان رسیده چنانکه مذکور شد که  
 بحسب صوری سلطان امتداد یافته روز بروز ریاده میشد تا بتاریخ  
 هفتدهم ربیع الاول ناعی حق را لیلیک احانت گفته بعش او را  
 دهلی آورد و برکنار حواص حان دس کردند مدت سلطنت اوسس  
 سال و هفتماه بود و بعد از او سلطان علاء الدین همایون شاه باتفاق  
 امرا قدیم پا بر تحت سلطنت بهان و جمیع عمال ولایت را بدستور  
 رمان پدرش برقرار داشت و یکماه سلطنت کرده بدستور سده  
 بتاریخ پنجم جمادی الاول او بپیر رحمت حق رمت و بعد از وفات او  
 درمیانه امرا حلاف شد آخر سعی حواجه جهان بر ناصرالدین  
 محمود شاه حاکم هندوستان اتفاق کردند و حواجه جهان را  
 ملک اشرف حطاب دادند بدفع و رفع هندوان اثاوه شد  
 و قنوج و اوده و آندونه را تعیین کرده بست رحیر فیل حاصه  
 خود را باو همراه ساخت و او با ولایت رفته باهستگی همه را  
 بعمل آورد تا حالی پور و حکام بنگاله بیر فیلان مقرری هرساله  
 بود او فرستادند و سارنگ حان را دیپالپور داده بدفع فساد  
 سجا کوکر بطرف لاهور فرستادند و او با سجا رفته لسكر ملتان  
 و آن نواحی را جمع کرده متوجه سجا شد او بپیر باستقبال  
 روانیده قصد اجودهن را حصار کرده در نواحی لاهور جنگ  
 شد و سارنگ حان غالب آمده سجا بلاهور گریخت و نارن و بچه  
 نکه جمورمت و سارنگ حان لاهور را برادر خود عادلخان داده  
 بدیپالپور رفت و هم درین سال محمود شاه معری حان را گذاشته  
 در شهر خود بنفس نفیس متوجه بنیانه شد و سعادتخان در رکاب  
 بود نزدیک نگوالیار رسید و علاء الدین داروال و منارکحان و بلو حان  
 برادر سارنگ حان در مقام قتل سعادتخان شدند و او را آگاه شد

بقیة السیف گزیده در میان بیسه در آمدند و مسلمانان را اطراف و حواص آن بیسه آتش زدند کافران در آن وقت با یکدیگر گفتند که بهار خود را بدست مسلمانان ندهند و خود را در آتش انداختند تا آنکه تمام آن طائفه که به بیسه پناه برده بودند خود را ناس سوختند پس حاضر سلطان از همراه آن فتنه فارغ گشت و متوجه لاهور شد و سپاه خود را رحمت و راحت بملار داد که چند روز اسایس نموده متوجه یورش خطا شوند \*

ایضا آمده

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از ذکر وقایع سه ساله از پنج و شصت هجری

در نهم سال فرمان ده شد و سلطان اسلامیان باستقلال رای بهر سنگ و رستاد خود بحاکم اثاره رفت و بهر سنگ اسلامیان حاکم کرد شکست یافت و آخر صلح کرد همراه اسلامیان بدخلی آمد و سلطان متدعمان اثاره در حصار در آورده ایسان اندک حدکی کرده شب قلعه را گذاشته فرستند و سلطان قلعه اثاره را حرای کرده بتدوچ رفت و آن نواحی را ناحیه بتلیسر آمد و آنجا حصار بی ساخته محمد آباد نام کرده و حاکم دهایی عرض داشت کرد که اسلامیان بعد از معاونت از خدمت سر مخالفت دارند و عریضت کرده که بحاکم لاهور و ملتان رفته فتنه بگیرد سلطان بتعییل روان شده بدخلی آمد و اسلامیان را بتصور آورده پرسش نمود و او انکار کرد برادر راده اسلامیان گواهی داد که او اراده مخالفت داشت پس اسلامیان بموجب حکم بقتل رسید و حواصه جهان و رارت یافت \*

ایضا آمده

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از ذکر وقایع سه ساله از شصت و هفت هجری

و در نهم سال حاکم سلطان محمد ساه راده همایون

این امر آسانست تو یکی از معتمدان حدود عربیه فرست تا پس حدود دیده آید که ایا شهاب الدین هست یا نه القصه پسر کوکرا گوش بستن او نکرده همچنان بر عصیان و طعیان حدود ثالث قدم نهاده و چون فرستاده قطب الدین بارگست البچه دیده و شندده بود عرض رسانید پس قطب الدین حقیقت حال را معروض درگاه سلطان شهاب الدین نمود پس سلطان حکم فرمود که قطب الدین لشکرهای هندوستان جمع آورده جنگ کوکرا رود وآن قوم مفسد متمرد را آبچدان مستعمل و دایود گرداند که ریاده بران متصور نقواند بود چون فرمان قطب الدین رسید در مقام استعداد و جمعیت سپاه شده میخواست که بر سران طایفه رود که سلطان شهاب الدین خود در صدد آن سده که سپاه جانب حطا کشد که سکایت ظلم و تعدی کوکرا پایایی رسید و ارغوب و شوکت ایشان آنمقدار چیرها عرض سلطان رسانیدند که بر و لزم شد که اول دمج ایشان و قمج مساد ایشان نماید بعد از آن متوجه جانب دیگر سوی هندوستان ترک عربیت حطا کرده حیمه جانب عربیه رد و در پنجم شهر ربیع الاول این سال از عربیه متوجه هندوستان گردید چون شهاب الدین بر سوار در رسید معلوم شد که کوکرا باسکر مراوان میانه جندلم و سودره فرود آمدند پس شهاب الدین این لشکر شنید از پرساور ایلعار کرده در روز یكشنبه هفت و پنجم ماه مذکور عادل برایسان ریخت و از صبح آزور تا بهار عصر نایره جدال و قتال اشتغال داشت و کوکرا آبچدان جنگ میکردند که بر یک بود که سلطان را بان عظمت و حلال از حای حدود بشدانند که بیک ناگاه در آن وقت قطب الدین اینگ بالسکر هندوستان در رسید شروع در قتل و کشتن کوکرا نمود چون لشکر قطب الدین تازه روز بودند کوکرا طاقت مقاومت ایشان بیاد آورده رو نگزید بهادند و سپاه اسلام ایشان را تعاقب نموده آبچدان قتل و کشتن کردند که ریاده بران متصور بود

شهباز، شهاب الدین میفرستادند پادشاه را دایره اطاعت و انقیاد میروان  
 دهان، شروع در تاخت و تاراج آن ولایت کرده راه میانه لاهور و غره  
 بند ساختند بدو عیقه شیبی احدی را مسال عذر رساند و چون  
 شهاب الدین اران میر که بروحبه که قبل ازین مذکور شد نصبت  
 و سمت برگزیده دوزخ آمد و این احبار سمع او رسیده در مقام  
 آن شد که شهاب شد و ستار رفته متمرکز آن آلوده را تادیب بایع  
 دیارند پس از آن امیر مد من ای علی که نایب او بود بر لاهور  
 و مندان و میان در آن که حراج سه احدی و ستار را استعمال  
 و چپ تسمت دند ارسال داید داشت که استعداد یورش حطان زکار  
 است متمم من علی در حواف موش که حراج سدواف مذکوره  
مبها است اما کوران و رای سال عاج حذل چو ی راه پائین  
مرد و لاهور را تسپان مسند ساختند که مدح احدی اران راه  
تود ممدت دود و چون اید مدی مع شهاب الدین رسید علام  
حدود قطب الدین که مقدم سپاه شد بود بوش که کس پیس  
کوران فرستاد ای نادر ار رتک این اوجال شدیج مدح نماید و اگر  
ار تسود و عصیان حدود پسیمان دسته قدم در دایره اطاعت و انقیاد  
دهد مناظر ار نما کشته ایسان در دور یم و چون قطب الدین  
ایک دست معه و مرد عمل بود کس پیش کوران فرستاده  
ایسان را باطاعت و انقیاد دعوت و مرد پسر کوک در حواف او  
دهد که شمارا این حالت دست ناید که سلطان شهاب الدین  
کس حدود فرستاد اگر اورده میدود چرا پیس ما مدرستاد تا  
ما در حراج ار برای او مدرستاد یم آن الپی در حواف او گفت  
که شمارا الاحالت نه که سلطان شهاب الدین کس حدود مدرستاد  
این دیهات حاضر شما ملاحظه کردند که مدک علام ایسانم پیش  
شما مدرستاده اند پسر کوک نار در جواب او گفت که این همه حکایب  
شهاب الدین در مباده پیدا دست الپی در جواب گفت که تسقی



ملک جهان بین از مشاهده آن حیره ماند و چون مکرراً میانه این هر دو لسكر مبارزات واقع شد جماعتی حدر ناصرالدین رسانیدند که قریب بلشکرگاه ملک حیدال چشمه ایست که هرگاه قدری ارجاست در آنجا اندازند باد و صاعقه ورعد و سرمای آنچنان پیدا می شود که هیچ احدی طاقت پیام ندانند ناصرالدین ورمود تا قدری از فاد و زاب در آن چشمه افتدند می الحال اندر پیداشد و رعد و صاعقه شروع نمود و روز روشن همچو شب تاریک گشت و آنچنان سرمائی طغرتند که خون در عروق منجمد گشت و کار با کارسید که اهل هند را طاقت اقامت در آن سرمین نماند و چون ملک حیدال این حالت را مشاهده نمود متعیر مانده شروع در تصرع و رازی نموده بصلح راضی شد و کس پدس ناصرالدین فرستاد که من سال سال مدح گرامند بخواند میدرسام و چند رحیر فیل و دیگر آنچه امیر ناصرالدین میفرماید خدمت میکنم و حکم او را در ممالک هندوستان نافذ و جاری میگردانم امیر ناصرالدین از کمال مروت و بیکوئی که ذات آن بران محمول بود ملتسمای ملک حیدال را مقبول داشت \*

ایضاً آمده

از ذکر وقایع سال پانصد بود و دوم از رحلت در تواریخ معتدرة چنین آورده اند که چون در حین انهرام شهاب الدین از اترک و خطاومت مراجعت از حوارم چنانچه تفصیل آن سابقاً گذشت در بلاد او اشتهار چنین یافته که سلطان شهاب الدین در معرکه جنگ غایب شد و هیچ معلوم نه که کشته شده یا رنده مانده بجای بیرون رفته ناصرین معدان ولایت از اطراف و جواب سر برداشته هر یکی بناحیه از نواحی دست دراز کردند و از حمله معدان رای سال نام شخصی که در میان بلند لهاور و کابل در کوهستان میبود و باتفاق جماعت کوکران که در ناحیه بودند و همیشه مال

## منتخب از کتاب تاریخ الفی

در تواریخ معتبره چنین ایراد نمودند که اولاد تسخیر امیر ناصرالدین سبکتگین هندوستان آن بود که در حواری مملکت امیر ناصرالدین قصه بود مشهور بقصدار و والی امواع تحصات و استحکام قلاع خود معرور و برافیت و ارانی ولایتس مسرور میبود و امیر ناصرالدین بر سر ولایت او رفته او را اسیر و دستگیر نمود و بعد ازان ماربا و ولایتش از رانی داشت مسرور به آنکه وی در ولایت خود بعد از آنکه و حور دباید و روس ملابرا ناتان امیر ناصرالدین عمری سار و عمر سال مدعی معین ار مال آبدلایت بخانه سبکتگین رساند و بعد فراغ مهمات قصدار امیر ناصرالدین عمر عرو کهار نموده رو ندیار هند آورد و چند قلعه و شهر که قتل ازان مرکز رایات اسلام ناموضع برسیده بود فتح نمود حیبال ملک هند دید که دست تعرض مستعدان دین مساحت ممالک او دراز شد بسیار مضطرب و بی آرام گشت و در چاره ان کار بیندیشید که معاند ملک موزت اردست برود بدترین لشکر خود را جمع آورده روی ندیار اسلام بهاد و امیر ناصرالدین اریحال حدر یافته لشکری جمع آورد که شامون و کوه ار بسیاری آن بسته آمدند القصة ملک حیبال ارین حاد و امیر ناصرالدین ازان سوی متوجه یکدیگر سده در سرحد ولایت هند هردو لشکر یکدیگر رسیده دست نگار رار در آورده روی زمین ارحون کشتگان لعل نام ساختند چنانچه شبران هردو لشکر و دلبران هردو کشور حسته کار رار بسته اضطرار نمادند و درین محاربه سلطان محمود ناو خود حور سالی انچنان آثار جلالت و مردانگی ظهور رسانید که دیده

مراجعت ار لهاور در منزل دمیک در اول شعدان سده اندی و ستمائۀ بردست فدائیان کوکری کسته شد و بعضی ار ارباب فساد بواسطه صداقتی که میانه خواررم شاه فخر راری بود بست قصد سلطان مدد کرده علامانش در مدد انتقام شدند مولانا مدتی متواری بود سلطان عیث الدین محمود بن عیث الدین محمد پس ار عم سلطنت مروئی بسسته علی شاه بن کس خواررم مشاهی ار برادرش قطب الدین توهم کرده پناه بدو آورد وی بنابر صلاح ملکی اورا گرفته بند کرد ملازمان علی شاه شب در دیده بر قصر محمود رفته در شب شده هفتم صفر سده سنح و ستمائۀ اورا نکستند اول در فیروز کوه آخر در هراة نمرارگاه درگاه مدفون گردید در مدح او گفته اند \* بیت \* سلطان معربین و شهید شاه مشرقین \* محمود بن محمد بن سام بن حسین \* بهاء الدین سام بن غیاث الدین محمود باتفاق امرا سلطنت بسسته علاء الدین السربین علاء الدین حسین جهان سور مدد سلطان محمد خواررم شاه لسكر عور کسید فیروز کوه را محاصره نمود و نصف جمادی الاول سده سنح و ستمائۀ شهر گرفته او و سمس الدین محمد برادرش را اسیر کرده بخواررم فرستاد و در کثرت معول مادر سلطان هردو را در جیخون انداخت علاء الدین السربین علاء الدین جها بسور بعد ار حکومت چهار ساله در شهر سده احدی عسرو ستمائۀ در جنگ ملک نصیر الدین حسین امیر شکار بقتل آمد علاء الدین محمد بن ابو علی پسر عم ملک غیاث الدین محمد در حصار استپار مقید بود او را امرا برون آورده بطرف عربین بردند و تاج الدین یلدور او را تربیت کردند و چتر سلطان شهاب الدین که تا آن وقت در سر مقبره اش نهاده بودند بدو حواله داشت و او را بساطت فیروز کوه روانه ساخت \*

و از غور بحدومت او پیوسته بواسطه تهمتی مسموم شد و این اولین  
عداوتیست مدانه عوریه و عربویه سیف الدین سوریه برادر  
دیگرش بانتقام بعربیه رفت و چون بهرام شاه در انجا بود در جمادی  
اول سده ثلث و اربعین و حمسمائۀ آن ملک را مستحضر ساخته  
بر تخت مسمومین نشست و بهرام شاه ارغند عود نموده او را در سده  
اربع و اربعین بگرفت و بر سوائی تمام نکست و عداوتی که تا آن  
وقت مستور بود ظاهر شد بهاء الدین سام بن حسین وی پدر  
سلطان عیاض الدین و شهاب الدین است چون بانتقام احوان  
حریک جمع نمود در آن اثنا ائمه برآورده فوت شد ملک علاء الدین  
حسین بن عرائض حسین و او اولین پادشاهی است که استیلا  
یافت آن قوم بدر بلاد آواره گشتند چون بانتقام برادران عربین  
رفتہ آنجا را بسو حجاب حبان سور مسموم گردید و سلطنت عربین  
و یمنی محال حراسان رسید با سلطان سلتر مصاف داده اگرچه  
معلوب شد اما مردم از حیات گرفتند و قاتش در ربیع الاحر سده  
شصت و حمسمین و حمسمائۀ ملک سیف الدین محمد بن علاء الدین  
حسین بعد از پدر پادشاه شده بکک عربی رفت و در روز مصاف  
بر دست یکی از مردم خود در رجب سده ثمان و حمسمین کشته شد ملک  
عیاض الدین محمد بن سام بعد از ارم راده سلطنت بنسبت حراسان را  
بقتت تصرف در آورد و بعدایت عظیم السان شده در چهار سده  
بیست و شصتم جمادی الاول سده تسع و سدعین و حمسمائۀ وفات  
یافت و در هرات در حبس مسجد جامع مدفون شد ملک شهاب  
الدین ابوالمظفر بن سام برادر کوچک تر عیاض الدین که پدر او را  
حدسی گفتی در عهد برادر در شهر سده سدعین و حمسمائۀ والی  
عربین و سند و هند بود و بعد از برادر عور و حراسان را صط نمود  
چند کثرت میان او و قطب الدین حواریم شاه محاربات رفت آخر  
به تسخیر همد توجه نموده بعد از صبط بعلامان معتمد سدر و در وقت

## منتخب از تاریخ جهان آرا

صفحه هشتم در ملوک عوریه \* مقدمه آورده اند که سطا می نام  
 از اولاد ضحاک گریخته پناه کوه پایهای عور برد و در آنجا تولد  
 و تناسل میکرد تا آنکه بوقت به شدت رسید و او در زمان  
 حضرت امیرالمومنین علیه الصلوة و السلام بود ملک نر دست  
 مدارک آنحضرت اسلام آورد و سلسله نسب او را برین موجب  
 ذکر کرده اند سدست بن حر یک بن سق بن میثی بن ورن بن هین  
 بن بهرام بن ححس بن ابراهیم بن سعد بن اسد بن شداد بن صحاک  
 و هو سطا بن هشاد بن بریمان بن افریدون بن سامند بن سعید اسپ  
 بن صحاک بن اشهران بن سدست بن سیامک بن بریاس  
 بن صحاک الملک است لاجرم آن طقه به شدستی مدسوف بوده اند  
 فولاد شدستی در عهد ابو مسلم یحیی بن بهادان بن در میثی بن  
 در مدسان بن پرویز بن شدست معاصر هرون الرشید بود سوری  
 بن محمد فرزند راده امیر یحیی در زمان صفاریه بود محمد بن سوری  
 معاصر سلطان محمود سنگتگین است ابوعلی بن محمد سوری  
 با سلطان محمود اظهار ایل کرد عداس بن شنیس بن محمد برادر راده  
 ابوعلی بعصب حکومت یافت و با سلطان ابراهیم عربی جنگ  
 کرد محمد بن عداس قایم مقام شد قطب الدین حس بن محمد  
 بن عداس حد سلاطین عوریه است عرالدین حس بن قطب الدین  
 و او را هفت پسر مرحدده اثر و ار معاصران و تابعان سلطان سنجر  
 سلجوقی بود و اولادش مفروق بدو فرقه شدند مدین در دوسطر  
 سطر اول در سلاطین عور و عربین قطب الدین محمد بن عرالدین  
 حسین که ملک الحمال استهار دارد داماد بهرام شاه عربی است

در گذشت از آثار او مسجد جامع هرات است که در حمس  
و تسعمائة امیرعلیسیر آنرا تجدید عمارت کرده \*

شهاب الدین انوالمطهر بن سام بن حسین بعد از برادر نادر شاه سد  
و چهار سال سلطنت کرد بعد از آن در وقت بمار کردن مدائیان  
دهدی او را شهادت کردند و در تاریخ وفات او گفته اند \*

### بیت

شهادت ملک سمر و بر شهاب الدین  
کر انتدای جهان مثل او بیامد یک  
سیم روزه سعدان سال ششصد و در  
مقدار در ده عربی سمرل و میک

مسعود بن محمد بن سام بن حسین بعد از امس سلطنت  
بر او قرار گرفت مدت هفت سال سلطنت کرد و در سده تسع  
و ستعمائة او را دوری در حانه کشته یافتند و مملکت عوزیان  
سوار مساعیان مقتل سد فقط

می کشد حلال احوال او پرسید سرگذشت خود شرح داد  
 گفت و حکایت او بسمع سلطان رسید بر حالش رقت کرد و او را  
 نوازش نمود و در مرتبه آورد و از اقربای خود رن داد چون  
 سلطنت بمسعود بن ابراهیم رسید او را امارت داد کارش بلند شد  
 بعد او پسرش علاء الدین حسن بجای او نشست \*

علاء الدین حسن بن حسین بن سام چون دولت عربیان  
 روی در نقصان آورد او در مملکت ایشان مستولی شد در سده  
 خمس و اربعین و حمسمائۀ نادشاهی عاقل گردان بود مدت  
 شش سال نادشاهی کرد و در سده احدی و حمسین خمسائۀ  
 در گذشت \*

سیف الدوله محمد بن علاء الدین حسن بعد از پدر نادشاه  
 شد جوانی صاحب کمال کریم طبع و عادل و رعیت پرور  
 و بخشنده و دریا دل و متواضع بود ملک عربین به پسر عم خود  
 عیث الدین محمد بن سام داد بعد از سلطان سنجر سلجوقی بلخ  
 بپیر مستخلص کرد عران جنگ او آمدند سیف الدوله دران  
 جنگ کشته شد در سده ثمان و حمسین و حمسمائۀ مدتی  
 سلطنتش هفت سال \*

عیث الدین ابوالفتح محمد بن سام بن حسین بعد از عم راده  
 نادشاهی بدو تعلق گرفت و باعران جنگی عظیم کرد و بسیاری  
 از ایسان بکشت و بقایای ایسان ریدهار حواستند و حراج پذیرفتند  
 سلطان عیث الدین برادر خود سلطان شهاب الدین ابوالمظفر را  
 در هرات بیانت داد و خود عربین دارالملک ساخت چهل  
 سال در پادشاهی ماند و در سده ثمان و تسعین و حمسمائۀ عربین

## منتخب از کتاب لب التواریخ

### فصل پنجم از باب اول قسم سیوم

فصل پنجم در ذکر عواریان پهن تن مدت ملک، شان شصت و چهار سال اصل ایشان از نسل سوربی ناسا عور بود که لشکر سلطان مستوف عروبوی او را بر انداخت تبیره سوربی از بیم سلطان به بدوستان گریختند او را پسری بود سام نام مسلمان شد و تجارت می کرد او را پسری بود نام او حسین بهمه هدری آراسته سام با پسر و اتاع و اسپه داشت برادرها دریا عریمت عور کرد نام مخالف درآمد و کستی عرق شد \*

حسین بن سام دست در تخته پاره رد که بکنار افتد بدوی در ده دران کستی بود هم دست دران چوب پاره رد باقی مردم در گرداب فنا عوطه ردد حسین با پدر سه روز در سر آب ماند چون ساحل رسیدند بدر رحمت و حسین رست و بر ساحل دریا بسپری رسید و دو گانه رحمت عسس او را بگرفت و هفت سال در رندان ماند بعد از هفت سال پادشاه دستور شد صدقه رندان را رجا کرد حسین بپیر اراد شد و متوجه عربین شد چون بدان حدود رسید جمعی از فطاع الطريق او را حوان خوبصورت یافتند اسپ و صلاح دادند و شب پیش ایشان بود اتفاقا دران شب طایفه از لشکر سلطان ابراهیم عروبوی که مدتی در طلب آن جماعت بودند بر ایشان طهر یافتند و همه را بکشدند چون حال چشم حسین بست حسین گفت ای می دادم که بر تو علط روا بیست چون است که مرا بیگناه



همایون مضبوط دارند تا در ملازمت موكب عالي سمرقند رفته در مسجد جامعي كه انجا ساخته خواهد شد كار كند \*

دكر بعضی دیگر ارفتوحات ارجمند و بار كستن امير تيمور گوزگان حاسب سمرقند \* ماهحه توق گيتي مرور بعد از انكه يابرده روز افق دهلي را منزل اقامت ساحت عارم ديگر مواضع آتوليت شده صداي كوچ در عالم انداخت و دست و چهارم ربيع الآخر از ظاهر جهان پناه بهفت همایون اتعاق افتاده چون مرحله و ريرانك معسكر بادشاه جلالت بهاد گشت ايلچيان بهادر بهار كه حاكم كهاوربون بخدمت رسیده دوطوطي كه از عهد سلطنت سلطان تعلقساء تا الزمان در مجلس ملوك هندوستان سكهوري و شيرين گوئي ميكرند بطران شاهدار قله معاني رسانيدند و آن تحمه گرامي بحر قبول اقتران يافته راييت منصور از آب جون عبور نمود و در موضع كده بهادر بهار نايسر خود قلئاس سرف ساط موسي سرافار شده پيسكس های شايسته گذرايد و باصاف الطاف حسروانه مخصوص گرديد و امير تيمور گوزگان از منزل كده بوليت دولت اداد معمور ترين ولايت هند بود تشریف برد و دورور توقف كرده از انجا روي بحاسب قله ميرت كه از مشاهير قلعه هند است آورد و در الزمان مولا احمد بهار سري و صعي گبر ضابط انقلعه بودند و اطاعت فرمان واجب الادعان مي نمودند آخر ماه ربيع الآخر صاحب قران عالي مانر به انجا رسیده عساكر منصور اعاز جنگ كردند و قهراً قهراً ميرت را گرفته صعي گبر را در حين قتال برحم تبیع آنداز بهار البوار فرستادند و پسرش را ناتشي كه مي پرستند بسوختند \* بيت \* اگر صد سال گذر آتس مرور \* چويكدم اندراو افتد بسورن \*

پیوسته در ملاحظه این دو تاریخ که متفق است بر ارباب  
کیاست و صوح می یابد که صحت حکایت محدوب لای  
حوار بعایت مستعد است و العلم عند الله تعالی و فات شیخ  
سدائی بعثید؟ صاحب گرفته در زمان سلطان بهرام شاه دست  
داد و بقول عقیدت بعضی ارمضا، آن واقعه در سده ۴۲۴ که  
تاریخ اتمام حدیقه است اتفاق افتاده و ایضاً بر فصای سخن آرا  
و شعرا، بلاغت انما بصیر الله بن عبد الحمید بن ابی المعالی  
و سید حسن عربی معاصر بهرام شاه بودند و نصر الله کتاف  
کلید نامه را بعنایتی که در میان ورق برایا موجود بنام آن  
پادشاه عائشیه در سلک تمبر کشید و سید حسن در روز جلوس  
تصدیه مظلوم گردانید که بیت اول آن ای است \*

### شعر

ندای برآمد رشمت آسمان \* که بهرام شاه است شایسته  
در تاریخ مریده مذکور است که در وقتی که سید حسن بر یارت روضه  
مطهره حضرت حیدر الدرب سرورار گشت ترجعی در نعت  
آل حضرت گفته در قده مدوره آن ابیات را خواند و چون بدین بیت  
رسید که بیت لاف و رندی بیارم و لیکن ای حذیب \*  
محدثی لهم رحمت حلتی بیرون مرست \* دستی ارفده  
بیرون آمدن حله و گفت یا بنی و العلم عند الله تعالی فقط \*  
ایضاً مده

عربه شهر دهلوی که بیکدیگر اتصال داشت و یکی را سری  
و دیگری را چهار پناه و سوم را دهلی که می گفتند در تاراج  
و تاخت سمت مساوات گرفت و شرح اینحال در مسامع حاه و جلال  
رسیده و در میان واحب الامثال صدور یافت که ارباب حرف و  
عمامات را از اسیران جدا ساخته در میان شاهزادگان تقسیم  
نمایند تا دولا یاب خویش درک و سنگ ترشان را جهت حاصه

و اعظم شعرا که معاصر سلطان بهرام شاه عربی بود شیم سدائی  
است و هو ابوالمجد من ادم العربی در نعتات مسطور است  
که سبب توبه شیم سدائی آن شد که در مستانی که سلطان  
محمود جهت تسخیر بعضی از دیار کفار از غریب نیرین رفته بود  
سدائی در مدح محمود قصیده در سلک نظم کشیده متوجه اردوی  
وی شد تا عرض رساند و در انداء راه بدر گلشن رسید که یکی از  
مجددان مسهور بلای خوار سقی حرد را میثقت قدحی پرکن  
نکوری سبکتگین سیاح گفت محمود بادشاهی است مسلمان  
و ناصر جهان مسغولی می نماید لای حوار گشت مرگ کی است  
ناحوتشون آنچه در تحت حکم وی در آمده است ضبط نمی  
تواند کرد می رود که مملکت دیگر گیرد و آن قدح را در کشیده باز  
گشت قدحی دیگر پرکن نکوری سبکتگین سیاح گفت سدائی  
فاعلیست شاعر و لطیف طبع لای حوار گفت اگر وی را  
از لطف طبع بهره نودی نگاری اشتغال نمودی که وی را نگار مدی  
گدای چند در گدای نوشته که شیم کاروی نمی آید و سیداند  
که او را برای چه آورده اند سدائی ار شنیدن این سخن متغیر  
گشته از شراب غفلت بسیار شد و بسلوک مشغول گشت و بر  
حرد خرد دان از باب فضیلت و عروا بر شیده و پنهان ماند که  
ار عصمون این حکایت چنان بوضوح می پیروند که اشتباه  
شیم سدای نظم اشعار در زبان سلطان عربی بود باشد و حال  
آنکه از کتاب حدیقه الحقیقه که در سلک منظومات حقیقت  
آیات آنجناب انتظام دارد چنان ظاهر میشود که شیم سدائی  
معاصر سلطان بهرام شاه بوده و آن کتاب را بنام نامی آن بادشاه  
عالیجاه نظم نموده و سلطان محمود عربی در سده احدى و عسریں  
و اربعمائه وفات یافته و نظم حدیقه چنانچه هم از آن کتاب  
به تحقیق می انجامد در سده خمس و عسریں خمسّمائه تا تمام

## منتخب از کتاب تاریخ حبیب السیر

ذکر سلطنت علاءالدین بهرام شاه و بنان مجملی از وقایع

### ایام دولت آن نادر شاه عالی جاه

لقب بهرام شاه عربی بعثیده حمد الله مستوفی یمین الدوله بود و روایتی که در روضة الصفا مذکور است معرالدوله و او نادرشاهی در شوکت عاقل حسست بود و همواره با علما و فضلا مصاحبت می نمود و در ایام دولت خود چند کثرت معروضه توحه نمود و سیاری از قلاع و بلاد آن مملکت را کسود و در او احرا یام سلطنتش علیه الدین حسین عوی لشکر یمین کسیده بهرام شاه را بجانب هندوستان مدهزم گردانید و روایتی برادر خود که سوری نام داشت و بتوای سام در آن نادر حاکم ساحت و بعد از مراجعت علاءالدین حسین بصوب غور بهرام شاه کثرت دیگر نادر الملک عربی شتافته و برادر علاءالدین حسین طغریامت و او را در ثاوی رسانده گرد و برادرانیده علاءالدین حسین چون این خبر رسید بعزم انتقام متوجه عربین گشت اما قتل او رسیدن او دست قضا طومار حیات بهرام شاه را در نوشت فوت بهرام شاه روایتی که در روضة الصفا مبطور است در سده ۵۴۷ سنه داد نقولی حمد الله مستوفی این واقع در سده ۵۴۴ اتفاق افتاد مدت سلطنتش روایتی اول ۳۴ سال بود و بتوکی ثانی ۳۲ در ارت بهرام شاه در اوایل تعلق بعد التمدید بن احمد میدانسد و چون آن وزیر ضایب تدبیر نادر سعایت بعضی از مکر و تروریز شهید شد ابو محمد حسن بن ابو مصورات اتعافی علم در ارت برادر داشت دیگر از حمله افاصل عرفا

نظر عدايت ساخته صاحب ديوان اساورسالت گردانيد و خدمات  
 القعات سلطاني ساعه ساعه التجاره صاحب فصيلت را از درجه  
 ندرجه ترقي ميداد تا منصب استعفاء عمالك و شغل عرض عساکر  
 ضميمه مهم مذکور گشت و بعد از چند گاه عبط اموال نك خراسان  
 باشتغال سائقه انصام يافت و آنجا از عهده تمامي مهمات  
 بروجهي تمضي نمود كه مرندي بران بود و چون مشرف عتد  
 سلطاني نسبت باوالعباس اسفرايني سمت تكدريد پيرت  
 و ذمام مهم وزارت و عدل امور كفايت در قبضه ورايت احمد بن  
 حس قرار گرفت و مدت هيده سال آوزير ستوده خصال در  
 كمال اختيار و استقلال بضط امور ملك و مال قيام مينمود و بعد  
 از انقضاء مدت مذکور جماعتي از امراء بزرگ مثل التوتياش  
 حاجب و امير علي خويشاند در مجلس رفيع سلطان ريان  
 بغيب و بهتان آن آصف سليمان نشان بكشاده و بحكم كلمه  
 يسمع نحل اسخندان پريشان در دل سلطان عاليمكان اتر كرده  
 رقم عزل بر ناعيه حال جناب وزارت ماف كشيد و او را در قلعه  
 از قلاع بلاد هند محبوس گردانيد و چون سلطان مسعود سبكتگين  
 ناعا علي خرايميد و پسرش سلطان مسعود بر مسند سلطنت  
 غريبن متمكن گرديد احمد بن حسن را اران قلعه بيرون آورد  
 و كرت تاينه شعل خطر وزارت را من حيث الاستقلال بوي  
 تفويض كرد بعد از آنكه مدت ديگر آوزير خجسته سير منتظم  
 امور جمهور پراخت در سنه ۴۴۴ علم عريمت بصوف آخرت  
 برافراحت \*

شعر

هسه خلق را آخر ايدست كار \* وديا دماند كسي يابدار فقط

بود و فضل بن احمد بن یزدین مدعی مقتضای کل الناس عالمی  
 دینی ملوکم قیام می نمود و فضل ثبوتی در بعضی از روایات  
 قزوستان حضر غامی شنیده یکی از معتمدان را نان صوب کسبیل  
 کرد تا آن شهر حدی را حریده بطریق عوارث ببردن آورد مدعی  
 نیت و واقع را بعضی سلطان رسانیده پادشاه کرد و ان عالم ان عالم  
 سیم اندام را از وزیر عطار احتشام طلب فرموده جناب اصف  
 شاه از انکار اصرار نموده بپیش الدوله باوجود کمال تمکین و وقار  
 بهایه و انگشت و شدکاه بکانه و بیر تشریف بود جناب وزارت  
 بهایه به واسطه عید و اقامت و لوازم بیار و نثار پرداخته در آن  
 اندام حور لقا بطور پادشاه سعادت انما درآمد و اعاز عریده  
 آورد پادشاه بکوتی و بیر و بهب و تاراج سرایس فرمان داد  
 و مقتار انحال را بیت طغر مال سلطان ستوده حاصل بکام  
 شد و مقتار حرکت نموده مدعی از امیر بدستال ابوالعباس را  
 اینه دار شکسته کرد و که بسیار معرفت ایرد متعال اشتعال فرمود \*

### شعر

کسی از حمای ملک حان ندید \* ملک را وفادار نتوان شمرد  
 احمد بن حسن میبندی رضیع سلطان محمود بود و در مکتب  
 حانه هم سنتی می نمود بدش حسن میبندی در زمان حیات  
 امیر ناصر الدین سنگین در قصه دست بصط اموال دیوانی  
 \* سوی میکرد و نسب عیادت معتمدان امیر ناصر الدین دست  
 بدو بدکمان شد حسن روی بعالم احوت آورد و آنکه بعضی از  
 مردم حسن میبندی را در سلک و را سلطان محمود شمرده اند  
بیر عاظم و محض خطا است و بیر علماء من تاریخ حضر  
 بی اعل و باعتدال التصه چون احمد بن حسن بحسن خط و وفور  
 وصل و کمال فصاحت و کثرت گیاست سرآمد افاضل روزگار  
 و مندول قابو انان بزرگوار گشت سلطان محمود او را مظهر

## منتخب از کتاب دستورالوزرا

ابوالعباس فضل بن احمد الاصفهانی

در اول حال بدایت و کذلت فایق که ارحمه ارکان دولت  
سلطین سامانی بود قیام می نمود و چون آفتاب اقبال فایق  
سرخه روال رسید ابوالعباس بمقتضای این بیت که \*

بیت

زهی دولت گیران باش چون تیر و وطن در کوی صاحب دولتان گیر  
عمل نموده خود را بمطهرت امیر ناصرالدین سنگتین رسانید  
و پس ارانکه امیر ناصرالدین سنگتین بخلد برین حرامیده  
و پسرش سلطان محمود تحت نادرشاهی را بوجود همایون خود  
مشرف گردانید ابوالعباس را منظور نظر اعلیا ساخته منصب  
وزارت بوی تهریص فرمود در جامع التواریخ مستور است  
که اگرچه فصل بن احمد ارحمیه فضل و ادب و تحریر و زبانت عرب  
عاری بود اما در عبط امور مملکت و سرانجام مهم سپاهی  
و رعیت ید بیضا می نمود و او را حق سبحانه تعالی پسری  
ارزانی داشت حجاج نام و آن مولود عاقبت محمود بکسب  
فضایل نفسانی پرداخته سرآمد افصل روزگار شد و اشعار عربی  
در آیت فصاحت و بلاغت در سلک نظم کسید و بکمال فضل  
بن احمد در علم حدیث مهارت تمام پیدا کرد چنانچه بعضی  
محدثان اروپائی روایت نمودند و چون مدت ۵۰ سال از وزارت  
ابوالعباس در گذشت احقر طالعس ار اوج شرف بحصیض و نال  
انتقال یافت بعضی از مورخان سبب عزل او را چنین گفته اند  
که سلطان محمود را خدمت علیمان مستحری سیمای شفقت تمام

و در پیش دولتیه مکتوب ابر کتاف روضه الصفا است و این روایت  
 در کتابی که در تاریخ و معانی و معانی سمت تحریر یافته محتلفی  
 اسم دارد و مکتوب اس در این دو کتاف مسطور است این است که سلطان  
 حمید را از آن جناب نامی که در آن اوان امیرالامرا بود گرفته بقتل  
 رسانید و چون پیش نامبرالدين را قایم مقام کرد انید و بعد از چند روز  
 او را بیع کبی بکند رسید آنکه باستقلال رایت سلطنت بر امرایحه  
 نس خود را سلطان عدالت الدین ساحت و بعد از آنکه غیاث الدین  
 رحمت دینی بداد مداد او پیش قایم مقام شده ملک میدور  
 که بدو اسمی قوم جامع بود محتلفش کمربسته لشکر مدغلی کشید  
 و او را بقتل رسانید نامی بر تخت سلطنت نهاد و برادرزاده خویش  
 را در آن بست و دست عریضه بداد او فرستاد و شاه الدین در آن سرزمین  
 عدالت مدنی استظهار و استعداد تمام پیدا کرد روی بتسخیر  
 مدغلی آورد و ملک میدور بکشته روز باستقلال روان گشت و در گذار  
 آمد چون بموت مآلات روی نمود ملک میدور نامید حقوق سابق  
 بایدهم بقرار آب عبور نمود شاه الدین ارعایت بی مروتی او را  
 بقتل رسانید نامی بر تخت سلطنت نهاد و برادرزاده خویش  
 علاء الدین را ارعایت مدغلی شدافه لوای ناسامی بر امرایحه  
 و تا مشهور شده مدع و عسرو سدعمانه سلطنت مدغلی تعلق بوی داشت  
 آنکه او بپیر ماندند دیگران علم عریضت بجهان دیگر بر امرایش فقط \*



گردانید و ملک التوبیه اربین معنی حذر یافته بدست شتاب  
و ملکه را ناحود عقد کرده روی سوی دهلی آورد \*

معزالدین بهرامشاه بن ایلتمش \* در عیت رصیه برصای اکابر  
واعیان دهلی تاج جهانانی بر سر پیک و چون ارقب و صول حواهرش  
و شوهر واقف گشت بالسكر بسیار ایسانرا استقلال نمود و بعد از  
وقوع محاربه التوبیه و رصیه گریخته در اثناء هریست حمعی از کفار  
هدد ایسانرا گرفته بدرجه شهادت رسانیدند و در آخر ایام حیات  
معزالدین بهرام شاه حواحه عیند و ریر را که از بادشاه متوهم بود  
بوساوس شیطانی امراء اترک را بران داشت که کوس مخالفت  
کوفته بهرامشاه را شهید کردند حکومتش دو سال و چهل و پنج روز بود \*

سلطان علاء الدین مسعود شاه \* در هشتم ذی قعدة سده تسع  
و ثلثین و ستمائة سریر سلطنت دهلی را بوحود همایون مرین  
ساخته و لواء عدالت بسط بساط عیس و عشرت مسعودی برموده  
مانند برگس و لاله لحظه بی قدح و پیاله نمود بدانرا انصرا  
واعیان دل بر مخالفتس قرار دادند و قاصدی برد برادرش ملک  
ناصرالدین محمود که حاکم بهرایج بود فرستادند و اظهار عنودیت  
و حد متغاری نمودند لاجرم ملک ناصرالدین در سده اربع و اربعین  
و ستمائة لسكر دهلی کسیده سلطان علاء الدین را بدست آورده  
محبوس گردانید \*

سلطان ناصرالدین محمود بن سلطان ایلتمش \* چون بر تخت  
حکومت قرار گرفت تیغ غراخته و لواء جهاد برافراخته بسیاری  
از ممالک هند را مسخر ساخت و بنیان حیات چندین هزار کافر  
مقبور بر انداخت تعصیل حالات آن مهر سپهر سروری از کتاب  
طنقب ناصری که مدیاح سراج حورحانی بنام نامی او تصنیف  
کرده مسطور است و اقام حروف بواسطه سعی ارايجار و اقتصار  
معاف و معدور پوسیده نماد که آنچه در ذکر سلطان رصیه

[illegible]

قاهر سلطان، حمید مفت شمس الدین ایلتمش • باتفاق اشراف  
 و ایام بعد از احد یونان در سوریه سلطنت بسست و حسن تدبیر  
 و صوب شمسیر انقرا مستغانرا مطیع و مدعان گردانید و سلطان رصیه  
 بمصنعات حمیده موصوف و معروف بود و بنوارش فصل و علما  
 و یونان رسمی صعبا و متراسمی و اعتمام می نمود در ایام سلطنت  
سج در سوریه، قنایوشیدی و در روزگار برکت بسستی چنانچه  
 همه کس او را بدیدی و سلطان رصیه در اواخر سده سن و ثمانین  
 و سمانه در ملک التوید که دم از خلاف میرو لشکر کسید اما  
 در اندک راه امراء ترک باعی شده او را در ولعه تبرهند مقید

## منتخب از خلاصته الاخبار

ذکر فوجي ار علامان سلاطین غور که همرته

### سلطنت رسید

سلطان شهاب الدین بر حردین عثمان ترک و تربیت کردن ایسان برهتی تمام داشت یکی از جمله ممائیک او تاج الدین یلدر است که حکومت بلاد کرمان و توران را که از توابع دیار سده است باز آرایی داشته بود تاج الدین یلدر بعد از شهادت سلطان شهاب الدین بر سر بر آیالت غربین نشست و چند گاهی در کامرانی سربرد و در جنگ سلطان شمس الدین ایلتمس والی دهلی گرفتار گشت و بقتل رسید؛ \*

قطب الدین اینک از جمله عثمان سلطان شهاب الدین بود و بمرد شجاعت و سخاوت امتیاز داشت و چون سلطان رعام سلطنت دهلی را بقبضه اقتدار او بهاده در ولایت هند عروات سیار کرد چنانچه بعضی از آنها در تاج العاتر مذکور است مدت حکومت قطب الدین اینک هشت سال بود و ازین جمله چهارده سال دم از استقزال در خطبه بنام خویش خواند \*

آرام شاه بن قطب الدین ایبک • بعد از موت پدر زوری چند بر سر بر سلطنت نشست و بدینر عدم قنلیت از ان امر معارق و معرول شده سلطان شمس الدین ایبک قائم مقام گشت \*

سلطان ناصر الدین قباچ • بعد از شهادت ممالک خویش سلطان شهاب الدین نا وجه ملتان و بعضی از قصبات دیار سند استیلا یافت و چون چنگیزخان در ممالک ایران دست بقتل و عارت برآورده



حملة ما اهدى ثوبا باخرا نديعا وانه اراد قطعه ثيابا لنفسه فاحتج  
 السباط عن عمله وقال ههنا صورة قدم انسان وكيف ما احتج  
 لابي الاعلى ما بين الكتفين وفي ذلك مادكرناه في قصة بل  
 معلم كذك ان صاحب فروح قصد ادلاله والاستغفاف به وركب  
 من موزة مع حمولة يركض نحوه وسمع راي ذلك فتشير ولم يكن  
 له به طاقة فاستشار وريرة فقال الورير فد هيمت ساكنا وفعلت  
 ما لا يجب فاقطع الان اعني وشفتي ومثل بي لاجد الي المكر  
 سيدلا ولا وجه للمجاهرة وفعل به راي ما قال وتركه ومصى الي  
 اقاصي المملكة \*

فلما عثر الحمد على الورير وعرفوه حاوانه الى كذك  
 وسأله عن حاله فقال الورير كنت ابناء عن المخالعة وادعوه  
 الي الطاعة والصلحة فاتهمني ومثل بي ومر على وجهه يطول  
 اليه سلوك الجادة ويسئل من جهة تعسف قلالة بيدنا وبينه  
 ان امكن حمل الماء لكدي يوم قال كذك هذا سهل وحمل  
 الماء كما قال واستدله على السميت وتقدمه وادخله معارة لاحد  
 لا طراويا فلما انقضت الايام ولم يقن الطريق سال الورير عن الحال  
 فقال لا لوم علي في حماية صاحبي واتلاف عدوه وافرب المسارج  
 من هذه القلا ما دخلت منه فاعل بي ماشيت ولا محلص  
 لاحد مديا \*

فركب كذك واجري فرسه حول مومع متحفص تم عرر  
 رحه في وسطه فعار الماء مورا كفي الحمد شربا ورادا  
 فقال الورير انا ما فصدت بالحيلة الملائكة القادرين واما قصد  
 بها الناس العاجرين وادا الامر كذك فاقل شعاعتي في ولي  
 نعمتي واصفح عنه قال كذك انا من هه المكان مدصرف الي  
 الوراق قد اجتدك الي الملتمس فقد امصى في صاحبك ما  
 وجب وانصرف وذهب الورير الي صاحبه راي فوجده قد



و چون بادشاهی ریخته که حضرت امیرالمومنین او را سند الملوک و سلاطین میخواند و رود باشد که پاداش آن بدورسد و سیعلم الدین ظلموا ای منقلب یقبلون و بعد کشته شدن مسعود و لایب خراب شد و محمد و پسران او را در بئر لشکر و رعیت اعتیاری نماند و تمامت اموال و ممالک اهل پرشاور که دیاری مسیح و عریص بود باعت رفت و در آن ملک علامی بیک دینار و یک من حمر بیریک دینار می فروختند و حرد ار حمر ریاده ار حرد ار علام بود \*

فصل ۲۲ \* ذکر مسارنه مودود بن مسعود ناعمش محمد

بن محمد و انتقال دولت و ملک او مودود

چون خبر قتل مسعود به پسرش مودود رسید ار ظاهر بلیح کوچ کرده متوجه عربین شد و محمد بیر ار بواهی سند بحدود عزیزین رسیده هر دو لشکر صف بیاراستند و مودود عالم گسته محمد را بپسرانش و بوشنگین بلخی که ماده آن فتنه و فساد اورد و پسر علی حوشاوند دست آورد و مجموع ایسان را بقتل رسانیده هیچکس حلاصی بیافت الا عبدالرحیم بن محمد و سند مخلص او آنکه در آن اوان که مسعود را حس کردند و برادر رادرگان او عند الرحمن و عند الرحیم ندیدن وی رفتند عند الرحمن دست در ار کرده کلاه مسعود ار سرش برگرفت و عند الرحیم آن را ار دست بر ار گرفته بسر عم بهاد و عند الرحمن را سر ریش کرده دشنام سیار داد و ندین یک ادب ار کستن رهائی یافت و عند الرحمن خود را با دیگران در ورطه هلاک اند اخت \*

در آن حصار مانی از بدادر طلید که در مصالح خویش صرف  
 بود و مسعود دست همت پانصد درم درستانه مسعود نگریه  
 داد و آنست که بیور حکم من نرسد هزار خروار نار حریده روان  
 بود آنروز و یک درم قادر بدستم و آن شخص که پانصد درم بدیس  
 آورد هزار دینار از جامع خویش مسعود داد و این سخاوت  
 دست سعادت او شد و آنرا آن در ایام دولت نمودن من مسعود  
 بداد رسد و چون چشم مسعود از نور ناصیه مسعود بهره داشت  
 سعادت در پسر خویش احمد گذاشت و از امر حکومت نامی  
 در او پیش نهاد و آنکه که در ماع او مشوش و محبط بود تا پسر  
 مسعود من سینه انگیخت و پسر علی حوساوند اتفاق کرده بی رعای  
 مسعود رسد و در مسعود را کشتند و این صورت در مسعود گران  
 آمد و بعضی گفته اند که احمد بدو را آمو کرد تا کسان درستانه  
 مسعود را کشتند مدت سلطنت مسعود ده سال و یازده ماه بود  
 تا آنکه مسعود را ناصیه شجاع و کریم از خلاق بود ستاوتی مغرور  
 داشت تا علما و فضلا مجتهدان و مصاحبت نمودی و در ناره  
 انسان انواع احسان و امتدای تقدیم رسانیدی جمعی افاضل  
 باسم او تکیه پوشیده اند و او در تصدق عزت مدالعه نسامی آوردی  
 دست که تو بقی در ایام رمضان نمود که مبلغ هزار هزار درم  
 مسعودان رسانیدند و در آوان سلطنت او در ممالک مسروبه  
 آن شهر و بازار شجاع حیدر از مدارس و مساجد و غیر ملک تزیینتی  
 نهادند که زبان از تعداد آن قاصر است تا جمله چون مسعود  
 کشته شد مسعود مکتوب نامه نمودن من مسعود درستانه مضمون  
 آن که دلا و در آن متخاص خون پدر مسعود را کشتند و مرا  
 در آن احتیاری نمود نمودن در جواب نوشت که اطل الله بقاء  
 از پیر خدای عروءا آن دررد دیوانه او را عقلی زوری کلاه  
 ده به آن معاش نواد کرد امري عظیم را مرتکب شده است



## مستخب از کتاب روضة الصفا

سلطان مسعود چون اتر و پریسان حال عربین رسید بعضی از  
 امرای دولت را گرفت و برخی را ایشانرا نکست برعمانکه این طایفه  
 در حنگ سلجوقیان تقصیر کرده اند و پسر خود مودود را ناموحی ار  
 لشکر و ابونصر احمد بن محمد بن عبد الصمد وزیر نحاسب بلخ روان  
 کرد و حدود نادرادر خویش محمد مکحول و پسران او احمد و  
عبد الرحمن و عبد الرحیم و سایر اقارب و عشایر نحاسب هندستان  
 نهضت فرمود به بیت آنکه مستان دران حدود قسلاق کند و در  
 موسم بهار سپاهی بیس ار شمار ترتیب داد و بحمت دفع  
سلجوقیان روی نخراسان آورد و چون مسعود ار اب سند نگدشت  
 و هنوز معظم خریبه در اطرف آب بود که نوشته و علامان خاص  
 با یکدیگر اتفاق نموده خریبه را غارت کردند و پدش محمد مکحول  
 رفته سلطنت بروی سلام کردند محمد ار قنول آن امرا معتناع نموده  
علامان گفتند ما ار برای دولتخواهی تو اطهار عصیان کرده ایم اگر  
توانا نمائی ماترا نکشیم و با دیگرے بیعت کنیم محمد مکحول  
ناچار بان کارتن در داد و علامان در رکاب محمد ار اب گدشته  
با مسعود مضاف دادند و سپاه مسعود که در غایت قلت بودند  
مهم شدند و مسعود پناه برباطی برد که دران حوالی بود و  
عاقبت او را گرفته پیش برادرش آوردند محمد با او گفت که می  
فصد کستن تو ندارم اکنون حمت سکني خویش جائی اختیار  
فرمائی که حرم و اولاد تو مصروف تو باشد و مسعود بر قلعه گیری  
رقم کشیده محمد او را با جميع متعلقان بدانجا فرستاده جمعی را  
محافظت او موسوم گردانید گویند که مسعود در رفت توحه



رمت و او را اسیر کرد و امان داد و خراج بستید اما چون عادت  
 هندوان چنان بود که شراب شاه که دو نوبت در دست مسلمانان  
 اسیر شود دیگر پادشاهی را بنماید و گنااهش جراتش پاك شود  
 جیبال پادشاهی را پسر داد و خود را بسوخت یمین الدوله  
 محمود درین جنگ غازی لقب یافت در سنه اربع و تسعین  
 و ثلثمائة بجنگ خلف بن احمد سیستان رمت جهت آنکه  
 خلف پسر خود طاهر را بعد از مراجعت از حج و لی عهده کرده بود  
 و حکومت داده و خود بطاعت حق تعالی مسعول شده بار  
 یسعیان شده و بر پسر خدیر کرده و او را کشته یمین الدوله بدین  
 انتقام با او جنگ کرد او منبرم نقله طاق رمت یمین الدوله  
 محمود قلعه را بعد از محاصره مسخر کرد او در بهار بیدون آمد  
 و یمین الدوله محمود را سلطان خواند و او را این لفظ خوش آمد  
 و او را امان داد و لقب خود سلطان کرد ملک سیستان او را  
 مسلم شد خلف بن احمد بعد از مدتی مخالفت سلطان محمود  
 کرد و نایلک خان پناه بد سلطان محمود آگاه شد او را از  
 سیستان نقله جرجان فرستاد و آنجا بود تا درگذشت سلطان  
 محمود بناطیه و ملتان تا حدود کشمیر عاقی گردانید و با  
 ایلک خان صلح کرد بعد از مدتی ایلک خان نقض عهده کرد  
 و بجنگ سلطان آمد سلطان او را منبرم گردانید و خوش پهران  
 بسیار از لاسکر او در دست راولیان اسیر شدند راولیان از ایشان  
 حتی تمام یافتند ایلک خان بغداد و ترکان چین از تخم امرا سیات  
 و سبله جست بر در صلح جنگ کردند سلطان محمود مظهر شد  
 ایلک خان بگریخت و دیگر ناره صلح کرد و در ماوراء النهر مقیم  
 شد سلطان محمود بجنگ بواسه صاحب ملتان رمت را از ملک  
 مسخر کرد و باسلام در آورد صاحب ملتان را نکست و دیگر را  
 حکومت داد سلطان محمود بجنگ غوریان رمت و ایسان

«منتخب از تاریخ گزیده»

۱۔ مال مضامین

[illegible]

ماکمور انگه منجور و بعد اران ولایت هیللی انگه ولایت قدربیا  
 انگه دیار جنگلی و اراجا ولایت کولم مردم آن ولایت همه  
 سمنی باشند یعنی بت پرست و بعد اران سواک دیار است  
 که مجموع آن صد و ست و یکهزار پاره شهر و دیه است  
 و بعد اران مالوا که عبارت از هزار هزار و هشتصد و نود و سه هزار  
 در تعداد آمده است و قریب پنجاه سال باشد که نادر شاه  
 مالوا بنامد و میان پسر او و وزیر منارعت افتاد و هر یکی طرفی  
 اران ممالک گرفتند و دشمنان محال مداخلت یافتند و اما  
 معمر عرصه آن ارحد زمین کولم تا خطه دیناور قریب سیصد  
 فرسنگ سواحل همچنین شهرها و دیوارها دارد و ایشان نادر شاه خود را  
 دیور گوید یعنی خداوند دولت همیشه طرایف اقصای چین  
 و ماچین و بلاد هندوستان بسعاین بزرگ که آرا بران چینی  
 جنگ گیرند کامثال الحال تحری بجناح الریاح علی سطوح  
 المیاء باینجا متواصل باشد و اله نفیس ان بلاد لالان و عقا قیر  
 و غیرها و از بحر آن لولو فراوان می خیزد و معمر بمثالت کلید  
 همد است و درین چند سال دیور سندر ندی بود و ملک  
 تقی الدین عبد الرحمان یسر محمد الطبی برادر شیخ جمال الدین  
 ابراهیم وزیر و مسیر و صاحب تدبیر او بود و حکومت فتن و منکی  
 فتن و قابل نوی آرانی داشت و در شهر سنه اثنی و تسعین  
 و ستمائنه هجری دیور وفات یافت و حراین عالم با اعداد  
 و حساد گذاشت آرشیخ ابراهیم بن محمد الطبی روایت  
 است که هفت هزار سرکار و محمول بجواهر انداز و زر سایر  
 سبیل میراث نه بدارش رسید و قائم مقام شد برقرار سابق  
 تقی الدین نایب او شد و اهل معمر بغایت سیاه باشند چه لخط  
 استوار و در یک است و در معبر نیکانه عظیم است \*



## منتخب از تاریخ بننا کتی

و رمین هندوستان در میان سه اقلیم افتاده است شرقی آن از اقلیم اول و غربی آن از اقلیم سوم و اکثر ممالک هندوستان در اقلیم دوم است و ولایت قنوج در میان بحور و حبال افتاده است و دارالملک نادرشاهان معظم همد است و رمین سند بر غربی آن افتاده از دیار ایران متوجه هندوستان شدن ممر بر رمین کابل افتد و شهر قنوج بر غرب آب گنگ افتاده است که از شهر ترند از کوههای شرقی می آید و دارالملک شهرناری است که در جاذب شرقی گنگ افتاده و مساحت میان هر دو سه روزه راه باشد و ممالک قنوج مشهور با ولد و اعقاب پاندوان است چنانکه مدیده ماهوره بسدیو معروف است و بر شرقی شهر جون افتاده بعد مسافت میان هر دو بست و هفت فرسنگ است و ملک تجایسرین الکهرین بر شمال اجا افتاده و از قنوج قریب هشتاد فرسنگ دور است و از ماهوره پنجاه فرسنگ و آب گنگ اکثر شهرهای هند را آب می دهد اگر مسافر خواهد بر سبیل سیاحت که از جزیره ساحل فارس قیس نام از دریای هند بگذرد و بدریای چین رود شهرهای که بر رمین ساحل افتاده اند و سر عرب معروف لحست بحرین است و ماهی رویان و حله و تاوه و الحسا و قطیف و همچنین می رود تا عمان و طعار و عدن که فرقه ساحل اعراف است و الحا می کسد تا شهر معد شو که بر ساحل حبشه و رکنار افتاده و در سه ستین و ستمائیه مسلمان شدند





## منتخب من كتاب اشكال البلاد

و أما بلاد السعد وما يصافها مما قد جهلناه في صورة واحدة  
فهي بلاد السند وشيئ من بلاد الهند و مكران و طوران و البده  
و شرقي ذلك كله بحر فارس و عربية كرمان و معارة سحستان  
و اعمال سحستان و شماليه بلاد الهند و جدويه معارة بين مكران  
و الققص و من ورائها بحر فارس و اما صار بحر فارس يحيط  
فارس الشرقي هذه البلاد و الجنوبي من وراء هذه المعارة من  
اجل ان البحر تمد من صيمور على الشرقي الى بحر بين مكران  
ثم معطف على هذه المعارة الى ان يقوس على ناك كرمان  
و فارس و الذي ارتفع من المدن في هذه الناك من ناحية مكران  
تير كبير و قديرون و ذلك و راسل و هي مدينة الحروح و به  
و يد و قصر قد و اعقته و ملعبته و مسلمي و يسلي و ارمایل  
و اما طوران فان مدبا محالي و كنيكان و سورة و قصدار و اما  
البده فان مدينتها طندابا اما مدن السند فان المدصورة  
و اسمها بالسند ما ميوان و الريل و السرون و فالدواري و بلدي  
و المسرا هي و البروج و نايه و منجاري و سدوسان و الدور  
و اما مدن الهند فهي نابل و لبانه و سورنارة و سبدان و  
صيمور و الملتان و حذراور و سمست فيده من مدن هذه الهند  
التي عرفناها و من كتاباته الى صيمور من تلك بلنيرا لبعض ملوك  
الهند و هي بلاد كهر الا ان هذه المدن نجا المسلمون و لا يلي عليهم  
من قتل بلنيرا الا مسلم و بها مساجد يجمع فيها الجماعات و مدينته  
نلسرا التي يقيم فيها ما كبير و له مملكة عريضة و المدصورة مدينة  
مقدارها في الطول و العرض نحو من ميل في ميل و يحيط بها



## منتخب من تصنيف ابن خردادبه

ملوك الهند واهليا يحلون الربا و يسرمون السراب غير  
ملك قمار فانه يحرم الزنا و الشراب و ملك سرديب يحمل  
اليه الحمر من العراق و يشربه و ملك الهند ترعب ارتفاع  
معدل العيلة و يريد في اثماليا الذهب الكثير ارفعها تسع ادرع  
الا فيلة الا عدا فابا عشر واحد عشر دراعاً و اعظم ملوك  
الهند بليرا و تفسيره ملك الملوك و بقشة حاتم من و ذلك  
لا ميردلي مع انقصائه و بعده ملك الطافه و بعده ملك الحر  
وله الدراهم الطاهرية و بعده عانه و بعده رهمي و بيته و  
بين هؤلاء مسيرة سفينة و ذكروا له خمس الف ميل وله  
الثياب القطبية و العود الهندي ثم بعده ملك فامرون يتصل  
ملكه مد نصين و في هذا البلد الذهب الكثير و بلد  
الكرور طريق من جانب العارس الى المشرق من الابل الى  
حريزة حارك خمس فرسج وهي فرسج في فرسج و بنا ذرع  
و نخل و كرم و منها الى جريزة لابن ثمانون فرسجان وهي فرسجان  
في فرسخين بنا ذرع و نخل ثم الى جزيرة ارون سبعة فرسج  
وهي فرسج في فرسج بنا ذرع و نخل ثم الى جزيرة چين  
سبعة فرسج وهي نصف فرسج في مثله لا ساكن فيها ثم الى  
جريزة كثير سبعة فرسج وهي اربعة فرسج في مثليها ذرع و نخل  
و ما شبه و بنا عوض اللؤلؤ الحديد ثم الى جريزة اركاوان ثمانية  
عشر فرسج وهي ثلاث فرسج في مثليها و اهليا لمسيرة اناصية  
و من جريزة اركاوان الى ارمون سبعة فرسج ثم الى نار مسيرا  
سبعة ايام و هو الحد بين فارس و السند و من نار مسيرا الى

## فصل چهارم در معرفت زمینها و شهرها و ولادت و قصصات

### و بعضی خزایر و مردم آنها

نموجندی که در مقدمه تقدیم یافت ممالک هندوستان سه قسم کرده اند و رعم اهل هند آست که ملک هندوستان به گانه ار ملک ایران زمین بزرگتر است و درمیانه سه اقالیم افتاده عربی آن ار اقالیم سوم است و شرمی آن ار اقالیم اول و بستری آن در اقالیم دوم افتاده و واسطه ملک مددیس خوانند یعنی واسطه الممالک و اهل فرس انرا قنوج گویند و این نام جهت ملکیت ار برای آنکه مابین سور و حدال و حرور و مرو و حد شرمی و معربی افتاده است و دارالملک بادشاهان معظم و حاکمه و مارد و فراعنه هند است و زمین سند بر عربی آن افتاده و ار زمین نیمروز یعنی دیار سیستان و دیار ایران متوجه هندوستان شدن ممر بر زمین گابل افتد و شهر قنوج بر عربی آب کنگ افتاده است و مسافت میان هر دوسه روزه راه باشد و ممالک قنوج مسهور باولاد و اعقاب پادشاهان همچنانکه مدیده ماهوره بند یو معروف و مسهور است و بر سرفی شهر حون افتاده بعد مسافت مابین هر دو بست و هفت فرسنگ و ملک تهایسربین الهرین بر شمال آنها افتاده و ار قنوج فریب هفتاد فرسنگ دور است و ار ماهوره یسجاء فرسنگ و آب گنگ ار منابع گنگ دوار بیرون می آید و اکثر شهرها و هند را آب مدد هند و اما مسافت بعد میان شهرهای ایسان اگر کسی مشاهده نکرده باشد محول بر اخبار باید کرد و حینند آغار ار قنوج کنیم بطرف جنوب مابین بهر حون و گنگ بموضع رسد که لحمو معروف است بر داورده فرسنگی هر فرسنگی عنایت ار چهار میل \*

ایلچی فرستاد و پسر و دختر امیر حانرا که از مصاف  
 آب سد گرفته بودند آنجا افتاده بارخواست کرد و مال  
 تولید قنجه آن حکمران متقاعد شد و پسر و دختر امیر حانرا  
 با مال بسیار خدمت سلطان فرستاد و التماس نمود که  
 ولایات او را تعرض نرساند و چون هوا گرم شد از اوجه عرم  
 نالغ کوه جودی با ناله و کلاه کرد و در راه قلعه بسرام  
 محاصره کرد دوران جنگ تیری بر دست سلطان آمد  
 و مجروح شد القصد قلعه نگرفتند و تمامت اهالی آن قلعه  
 را بکشتند آنجا حذر توجه عساکر معول بطلب او نرسید  
 مراجعت کرد زوری ظاهر ملتان بود ایلچی بقنجه فرستاد  
 و از مرور اعظام داد و نعل بها خواست قنجه انا کرد و  
 عصیان طاهر و مصاف اقدام نمود بعد از آنکه ساعت حاش  
 سلطان توقف نفرمود اهل اوجه عصیان کردند سلطان آتش  
 در شهر زد و بر جانب سدوسان رفت فخرالدین سارے  
 که از قبل قنجه حاکم سدوسان بود و چین ختای بر  
 سر لاسکر او بود لاسکر پدیس اوخان که مقدم سلطان بود  
 آورد چین در جنگ کشته شد اوخان شهر سدوسان را  
 محصور کرد چون سلطان نرسید فخرالدین سادری متضرع  
 با شمسیر و گردان پدیس سلطان در شهر فرو آمد و یکماه  
 آنجا قیام کرد فخرالدین سادری را تسریف داد و حکومت  
 سدوسان را بر و مقرر داشت و بجانب دیول و دمریله  
 نهضت کرد حسر که حاکم آن ولایت بود بگریخت و بکشتی  
 بدریا رفت سلطان بخدود دیول و دمریله فرو آمد و خاص  
 خاندان لاسکری بجانب دمریله فرستاد از دمریله غنیم و اسیر  
 بسیار آوردند سلطان بخدود دیول و دمریله فرو آمد و  
 در دیول مسجد جامع بنا فرمود عواری نختاده \*

جمعیت او بنادشاه جهانگیر رسید هندور در حدود عربین  
 بود لسکری بدفع او نامرد فرمود چون ار آب نگذشتند  
سلطانرا قوت مقاومت ایسان نماده بود متوجه دهلی شد  
 معولان نیز چون آواره انهرام سلطان بشیدند نار گشتند  
 و حدود ملک عور را عارت کردند سلطان چون حدود دهلی رسید  
 رسولی را باعلام وصول حویس پیش سلطان شمس الدین  
 مرستاد و التماس تعیین موضعی کرد که روزی چند مقام  
 تواند ساخت ایلچی را آحابیست کرد و ایلچی با برلها مرستاد  
 و عذر موضع ندیانه آنکه درین حدود هوای موافق طبع  
 سلطان نیست چون این پیغام سلطان رسید نار گشت و با  
 ناله و نکاله آمد ارحواب گرجستان بدو متصل می گشتند  
 تا جمعیت او رسیده هزار رسید آنگاه تاج الدین ملک حلب را  
 با لسکری بکوه حردی مرستاد پیس رای کوکار سکین و خطبه  
 دختر او کرد احانت نمود و پسر را با لشکر خدمت سلطان  
 مرستاد سلطان پسر او را بقتلح حانی موسوم کرد و قنache  
 امیری بود اربندگان ناساهان عور و ولایت سند بحکم  
 او بود و دم سلطنت میرد و میان او و رای کوکار سکین  
 محاصمتی و محاشنتی بود سلطان لسکری بقصد قنache  
 مرستاد مقدم لسكر اورنگ نائی و قنache بر کنار آب سند  
 بریک ورسنگی اوجه لسكرگاه داشت با بست هزار مرد  
 اورنگ نائی با هفت هزار مرد ناکاه سنجون سر او بود  
 لسكر قنache مدهرم و متفرق شدند و قنache در کشتی  
 باکرو بکر دو قلعه داشت در حریره رمت و اورنگ نائی  
 با لسكرگاه فرود آمد و آنچه یافت اسیر گرفت و سارت سلطان  
 مرستاد سلطان حرکت فرمود و هم نان معسكر بنارگاه قنache  
 فرود آمد و قنache ار اکر و بکر مدهرم بملتان شد سلطان

## منتخب از کتاب جامع التواریخ و شیلی

### ذکر احوال سلطان جلال الدین در هند وستان

سلطان چون اعرقاب آب و آتس حلاص یامت و قوت ده کس که روزگار ایشانرا فرا آب نداده بود بدو متصل شدند تواری و احتفا در پیسه پیسه گرفت پنجاه مرد دیگر بدو پیوستند خبر یامت که جمعی ار بودند همد سوار و پیاده بر دو مر سگی اینجا مقام دارند و بعدت و محور مسعول اصحابرا فرمود تا هر یک چوبدستی بربندند و ناکاه بر سر ایشان شکنجور رانند چنانکه اکثر را هلاک کردند و چهار پایان و اسلحه عنیمت گرفت و بعضی شتر سوار و بعضی بر گاو سوار ملحق شدند حدرا آوردند که ار لشکرهای هند دو سه هزار مرد همد درین حدود اند سلطان نامه و دست مرد بر ایشان درید و خلقی اران همد بر تیغ همدی گذرانید و مرمت اصحاب و امواج خود اران عنایم ساخت چون حتر قوت و انتعاش حال سلطان در هند فاش شد ار کوه بلاله و نکاله خلقي جمع شدند و در حد پنجم شش هزار سوار بر سلطان تاحتن آورد سلطان با سوار پانصد مصادف مصادف شد و جنود همد را پراگنده کرد و ار جوانب شداد افراد و امداد اجناد روی بسلطان نهادند تا در حد سه چهار هزار مرد بخدمت سلطان متصل شدند خبر





# منتخبات

از

## تواریخ هند

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جلد رابع

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از کدای فہرست مورخاں ہند

تصنیف شہری میڈس الیت صاحب بہادر

مکرتور گورنمنٹ کشور ہند

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مطبع کلکتہ سنہ ۱۸۶۸ عیسوی

